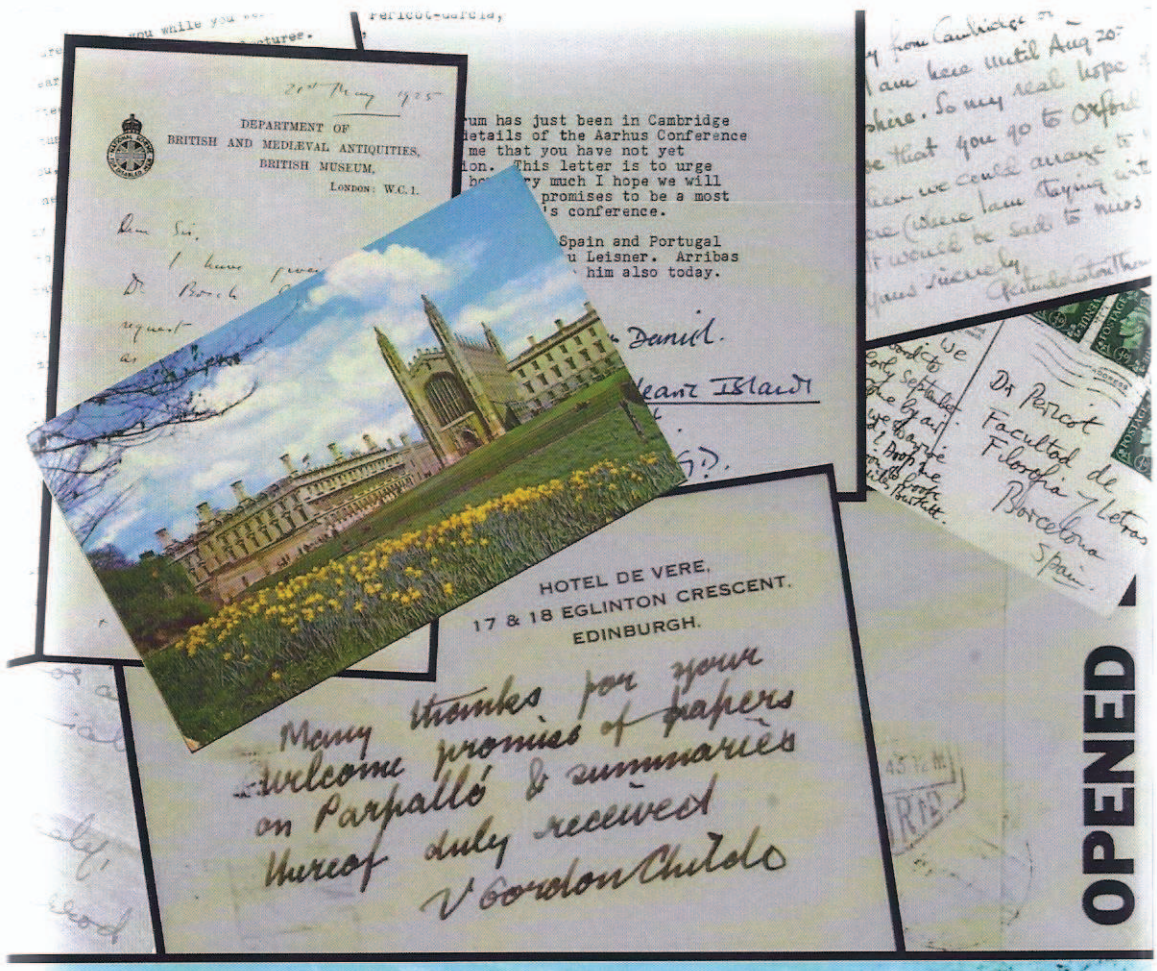

ARCHAEOLOGICAL ENCOUNTERS

Building Networks of Spanish and British Archaeologists in the 20th Century

Margarita Díaz-Andreu

Archaeological Encounters

Archaeological Encounters: Building Networks of Spanish and British Archaeologists in the 20th Century

By

Margarita Díaz-Andreu

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PREFACE

This book makes extensive use of documentation – mainly correspondence – stored in archives. This is my most ambitious attempt to deal with this type of source. When I started to work on the history of archaeology, the use of archives was practically unheard of. Then, back in the early 1990s, the history of archaeology aimed to provide a chronological account of the discoveries and discoverers in the history of the discipline and to explain the changes in archaeological theory. My first break with the *status quo* was to change the angle from an internalist to an externalist focus – I wanted to place archaeology in its socio-political context. However, I became increasingly aware that new questions required additional types of sources. Published information in the form of books, articles and the like could not answer the kind of enquiries I was making, especially when it came down to the level of the individual. It was necessary, therefore, to search for answers in archives, a source I first tapped into in 1995. Also in that year I wrote a first article on Gordon Childe and Spain (Díaz-Andreu 1998), although as far as I knew Childe had destroyed all surviving personal letters addressed to him before he left England in 1956. In 2002, however, I learned of the existence of two archives that were being organised at that time: the Martínez Santa-Olalla Archive and the Pericot Archive. In July 2005, thanks to a Dr. M. Alwyn Cotton Foundation award, I conducted two weeks of research on the Pericot Archive at the Library of Catalonia. In it I discovered forty letters from Childe to Pericot and a draft of a letter from Pericot to Childe (Díaz-Andreu 2007c). I quickly became aware that Childe had been but one of the Catalan archaeologist's many correspondents. That is how the idea for this book emerged.

This book was mainly written while I was working at Durham University, but I have finished it in Barcelona, where I have been appointed as an ICREA Research Professor at the University of Barcelona. It is based on research first undertaken thanks to an AHRC "Geographies of Archaeological Knowledge" project (Award AH/E504094/1). My research was also supported by the AREA IV network (Archives of European Archaeology) of the European Commission's Culture 2000 programme (n° 2005-0841/ 001-001 CLT CA 22), and the British Academy grant SG-46727. Two

periods as a visiting fellow at the University of Barcelona's Department of Archaeology and Prehistory at the invitation of Prof. Francisco Gracia in the summers of 2007 and 2008 were of tremendous help to my research while in Barcelona. I would like to thank all the archivists who helped with my work. First and foremost I must mention Anna Gudayol and her team at the Biblioteca de Catalunya (including Isabel Gálvez, Montse Molina, Alicia Morant and Anna Nicolau), as well as Marga Ruiz Gelabert and Núria Altarriba, for their help with different aspects of the Pericot Archive. Salvador Quero Castro's assistance with the Martínez Santa-Olalla Archive was invaluable. I would like to thank to Mr Colin Harris, Superintendent, Special Collections Reading Rooms, the Research Support, Department of Special Collections and Western MSS, Bodleian Library and Eva Oledzka, then archivist at the British Museum's Department of Prehistory and Europe. The documents relating to the help given to Bosch Gimpera by the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning were accessed with the permission of CARA, the Council for Assisting Refugee Academics (John Akker, pers. comm. 18-9-2009).

I am most grateful to the large number of people who, over the last three years (and before), have helped me with the writing of this book and have answered my many questions; their assistance is often acknowledged in the text. There are too many to list here in full, but I cannot fail to mention all those who experienced some of the events explained in this book and have been extremely kind in providing me with additional information. Some of them are no longer with us. Among those of the oldest generation, I should mention John Evans, Peter Gathercole and Michael Thompson and from the younger cohort, José Aparicio (Diputació de València), Geoff Bailey (University of York), Francisco Burillo (University of Zaragoza), Iain Davidson (University of New England), Prof. Josep Maria Fullola Pericot (University of Barcelona) and Richard Harrison (University of Bristol). I have also received invaluable support from Catalan archaeologists, especially Prof. Francisco Gracia Alonso (University of Barcelona). Montse Molina, Ignacio Montero and Fabián Cuesta have also been extremely helpful and have supplied me with articles I could not easily obtain while in England. I must also mention the stimulus and encouragement of some of my ex-colleagues in the Department of Archaeology, Durham University and in particular that of those involved in the History of Archaeology research group. The English has been edited by Paul Turner and Angel Smith.

The photographs published in this book have been gathered from a number of institutions. Taking museums first, permission to reproduce photographs has been obtained from the Ashmolean Museum (Figure 6.1), the British Museum (4.1), the Musée des Antiquités Nationales (5.4), the Museo de San Isidro Los Orígenes de Madrid (3.5) and the Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya (6.9). The following universities have also granted permission: the Evatt Collection, Flinders University Library (Figure 4.5), the Hugo Obermaier-Archiv, University of Erlangen (5.2), the Institute of Archaeology (London) (4.8), the Institute of Archaeology (Oxford) (6.7), the Pericot Family Archive, Department of Prehistory, Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Barcelona (1.1, 3.1, 3.2 and 4.7), and St John's College, Cambridge University (5.15). Other institutions that have given permission to publish photographs are the Arxiu de l'Institut Municipal de Museus de Reus (IMMR) (Fig 4.9), the British Academy (Figures 5.9 and 6.2), the Biblioteca Tomás Navarro Tomás of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC) (5.13) and the Servei d'Investigació Prehistòrica (SIP) of Valencia (5.7 and 5.8). Some photographs have been sent with permission for publication by individuals, including John Coles (5.11), Martín Almagro Gorbea (3.6), Nicolas Hawkes (6.10) and Michael W. Thompson (5.14). Photograph 1.2 was taken by the author. It has not been possible to locate the copyright holder of Figures 5.3 and 6.13. All tables, maps and diagrams are by the author. The letters reproduced on the dust jacket are from the Biblioteca de Catalunya, Barcelona, Fons Lluís Pericot, Correspondència. Permission has also been granted by all known literary executors.

Some of the information given in this book has seen the light in a different form in earlier versions. I have published previous works on three of the authors dealt with in this book: Gordon Childe (Díaz-Andreu 1998; 2007b; 2007c; 2009); Grahame Clark (Díaz-Andreu 2010) and Christopher Hawkes (Díaz-Andreu 2007a; Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009b). The data provided in these articles overlap and complement the information offered in this volume.

ABBREVIATIONS

ACNP	Asociación Católica Nacional de Propagandistas (National Association of Catholic Propagandists)
AGA	Archivo General de la Administración in Alcalá de Henares
BM	British Museum
BOD-Hawkes	Bodleian Library, Hawkes Papers
BOD-Myres	Bodleian Library, Myres archive
BOD- SPSL	Bodleian Library, Archive of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning
BSPF	Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique Française
CARA	Council for Assisting Refugee Academics
CASE	Congresos Arqueológicos del Sureste Español (Archaeological Congress of the Spanish Southeast)
CBA	Council for British Archaeology
CE	Comité Executive (Executive Committee [of the CISPP/UISPP])
CEH	Centro de Estudios Históricos (Centre for Historical Studies)
CGEA	Comisaría General de Excavaciones Arqueológicas ([Spanish] General Commissariat for Archaeological Excavations)
CIAAP	Congrès international d'anthropologie et d'archéologie préhistorique (International Congress of Prehistoric Anthropology and Archaeology)
CIPP	Comisión de Investigaciones Paleontológicas y Prehistóricas (Commission for Palaeontological and Prehistoric Research)
CIPSH	Conseil International de la Philosophie et des Sciences Humaines (International Council of Philosophy and Human Sciences)

CISAE	Congrès International des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques (International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences)
CISPP	Congrès international des sciences préhistoriques et protohistoriques (International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences)
CNA	Congreso Nacional de Arqueología (National Archaeological Congress [of Spain])
CP	Conseil Permanent (Permanent Council [of the CISPP/UISPP])
CSIC	Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (Spanish Higher Council for Scientific Research)
ENAH	Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia (National School of Anthropology and History, Mexico City)
FP	Fons Pericot (Pericot Archive)
IIA	Institut international d'anthropologie (International Institute of Anthropology)
INQUA	International Union for Quaternary Research
IPH	Institut de Paléontologie Humaine (Institute of Human Palaeontology of Paris)
GAI	German Archaeological Institute
JAE	Junta para Ampliación de Estudio e Investigaciones Científicas (Council for the Expansion of Study and Scientific Research)
JSEA	Junta Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (Higher Council for Excavations and Antiquities)
MuM-O ASO	Museo de los Orígenes (Madrid), Archivo Santa-Olalla
PCP	Pan-African Congress
PCP & QS	Pan-African Congress of Prehistory and Quaternary Studies
RGK	Römisch-Germanische Kommission
SEAEP	Sociedad Española de Antropología, Etnografía y Prehistoria (Spanish Society of Anthropology, Ethnography and Prehistory)
SIA	Servei d'Investigacions Arqueològiques (Service of Archaeological Research - of Barcelona)

SIP	Servicio de Investigaciones Prehistóricas (C: Servei d'Investigacions Prehistòriques); Service for Prehistoric Research
SOM	Seine-Oise-Marne
SPSL	Society for the Protection of Science and Learning
UAB	Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona (C: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona); Autonomous University of Barcelona
UIA	Union of International Associations
UISPP	Union international des sciences préhistoriques et protohistoriques (International Union of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences)
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
WGF	Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research
WWII/WWII	World War I / World War II

EQUIVALENCE BETWEEN NAMES IN SPANISH (CASTILIAN) AND CATALAN

In this book I had to take a difficult decision on whether to use the Catalan or Spanish (Castilian) versions of names and toponyms. I finally decided to use the Spanish versions, as they were the ones used during most of Pericot's life. Catalan became one of the official languages of Catalonia after the Spanish Constitution of 1978 and the organisation of Spain into Autonomous Communities. Before that, with the exception of the autonomous spell in the 1930s, the only official language in Catalonia was Castilian, known in the rest of the world as Spanish. Even during the Francoist regime, when Catalan was officially forbidden, Pericot used Catalan to speak with and write to Catalan friends and in those cases he signed with the Catalan version of his name, Lluís. He even published a prologue in Catalan for a book written by a friend and published in 1954 (!) (Pericot and Espriu 1954). But this was an exception and beyond this circle of Catalan colleagues, he never used Catalan or the Catalan version of his name and he never used the Catalan versions of place names. If he had lived nowadays he would have probably acted otherwise. However, historians need to show respect for history. It is my understanding that for a book on his relationships with British colleagues he would have wished to have his name written in Spanish.

Spanish (Castilian)	**Catalan**
Ampurias	Empúries
Bagur	Begur
Bosch Gimpera, Pedro	Bosch Gimpera, Pere
Colominas Roca, José	Colominas i Roca, Josep
Gerona	Girona
Lérida	Lleida
Maluquer de Motes, Juan	Maluquer de Motes, Joan
Palol Salellas, Pedro de	Palol i Salellas, Pere de
Pericot García, Luis	Pericot Garcia, Lluís
Seriñá	Serinyà
Servicio de Investigaciones Arqueológicas	Servei d'Investigacions Arqueològiques
Tarradell Mateu, Miguel	Tarradell i Mateu, Miquel
Serra Rafols, Elías	Serra Ràfols, Elias

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PART I

THE CONTEXT

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Archaeological encounters and international geographies of knowledge

Since the late 1980s, sociologists and historians of science have highlighted the key role played by contingent historical factors in the creation of scientific knowledge. Science is seen not only as a cultural formation inserted into wider networks of social relations and political power, but, significantly, as also being moulded by the local environments or geographical locations in which it is produced. Scholars have focused their attention on the impact of the space in which the scientific knowledge is produced in order to understand practices and changes occurring in it (Harris 1998; Livingstone 2003). It is argued that science "is indelibly marked by the local and the spatial circumstances of its making" (Shapin 1998: 6). Following this line, in the last two decades a rich variety of analyses has been undertaken. Some scholars have tackled the apparent contradiction of the local production of knowledge versus the short span of time taken for its efficient circulation through networks to other places (Latour 1987: 180). Another approach distinguishes between the static, the kinematic and the dynamic geographies of place: from the places where science is created to the spatial implications of the preconditions needed for it to happen (the provenance of instruments, texts and correspondents, amongst others) and, finally, to the transmission of knowledge from one place to another (Harris 1998). As regards the latter, the historian of science, Stephen J. Harris, explains that "in the third sense, geography of knowledge also means the dynamics of travel: why and by what means did all these movements take place? What was the anima motrix responsible for the multiple peregrinations of the elements of knowledge?" (ibidem: 273). For his part, Simon Naylor has divided the scholarship on the geographies of knowledge into placing and contextualising science. Studies range from placing science at the smallest spatial level, including the laboratory and the lecture hall, to contextualising it in towns or cities, regions, nations and/or language regions (Naylor 2005).

In this volume, many of these aspects concerning the geographies of knowledge will be tackled. The aim of this book is to analyse archaeological encounters by examining how scholars living far apart communicate in practice and how they create the preconditions for the transmission of knowledge between separate geographical regions and countries. Communication arises in many contexts and uses several different media – conference halls, the dinner table, a scholar's office, on a train, at home, in excavations, etc. It occurs through active and passive participation in talks and conversations, through the written word, in direct mail exchanges and also through publications, translations and reviews. The substance of what is communicated also varies. It ranges from new discoveries and novel proposals, as well as innovative ways of institutionalising the discipline, to more specific and personal information about colleagues. In addition to analysing the means and practices of communication among scholars living in different places, this volume also aims to examine a related issue: whether the nature and perception of the geographical locations where archaeologists are based affects the development of archaeology as a science in an international context. Through a microhistorical study (cf. Kaeser 2008), it endeavours to assess whether the creation of knowledge in archaeology is influenced by the geographical location in which it is produced. Finally, it also looks into how ideas are received, paying particular attention to their reception by scientific communities located in other countries.

This book, therefore, moves back and forth between a macrohistorical perspective and a microanalysis, and finally goes back to macrohistory expanding, yet again, the focus of the study. The contextualisation of the scholars discussed in this volume cannot but be based on the wider perspective, looking into the most important events that took place in archaeology during the years it analyses. This will not take the form of a detailed description of major archaeological discoveries, but will follow my previous line of research on the external conditions that frame archaeological practice. The macrohistorical overview will provide some background information about the impact of the socio-political and economic framework in both Spain and Britain on the development of archaeological theories and practices in the period under study in both countries. Some attention will be paid to the grand ideologies such as nationalism and colonialism and even internationalism. This wider historical perspective will allow us to better contextualise the internal developments within the discipline, such as theory, method and institutionalisation.

In addition to the macrohistorical perspective, this book also looks on a smaller scale at how particular scholars may be affected not only by ideas in their learned environment, but also by the social networks of their academic milieu and beyond. To date, most of the studies that have investigated this issue have focused on the academic and personal links formed by colleagues who are frequently in contact. In contrast, this study explores the impact on science of the exchanges between scholars who do not see each other frequently, because they live in different countries. This volume looks at international relations in science, focusing on the processes that lead archaeologists from different countries to communicate with and visit each other and to congregate at major international congresses. It does this in a peculiar way, centring on internationalism, while balancing this grand scale with a consideration of micro-history. This is because the data on which the discussion in Part II of the book is based derive from a selection of events that the scholars in our study decided to describe in the letters that were their main means of communication while working apart.

From geographies to correspondence

An important component of this project is the study of the correspondence between one of the main archaeologists in Spain in the period after the Civil War, the Barcelona professor, Luis Pericot (1899-1978) (Fig. 1.1), and certain archaeologists in Britain, mainly based in London (one of them, Childe, moved to Edinburgh for several years), Cambridge and Oxford. This will lead us in Part II to analyse around a thousand letters written by British archaeologists that are now in the Pericot Archive. The information obtained from the correspondence and described in Part II will be looked at again in Part III from a different angle and enhanced by analysing other types of evidence, including reviews and translations. The goal of the final section of the book will be to examine how geography influences the production, circulation and reception of knowledge. Should we consider the place of production a key element in understanding how it takes place? To what extent does the perception of the geography where knowledge is produced influence its dissemination and reception? Issues concerning academic authority and credibility will be discussed in this context.

Figure 1.1. Pericot at his desk. Source: Pericot family archive, Department of Prehistory, Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Barcelona.

During the years this book deals with – the decades before and especially after World War II, broadly from the 1920s to the 1970s – letters were still the main way for scholars to contact each other while apart, especially when they were in different countries. The use of telephones was restricted to nearby communication, as the price of international calls was too high for them to be used in all but exceptional cases. Telegrams were also used for urgent communications. Today these letters are an important documental source for the history of archaeology. They are far more than anecdotal evidence and provide us with access to the primary source of information used by scholars to build their knowledge of events elsewhere in the discipline (Jacob 2008: 7). They contain proof of the process of events as they were experienced and felt by the individuals living through them. In the study of correspondence between scholars, letters help us to understand the tempo of a social relationship. The rhythm of their interactions is shaped by the intervals between letters, variations in the frequency of exchanges and silent periods as opposed to those with a frantic exchange of letters (ibidem: 10). In the cases under discussion, an explanation of these swings will be given to enable us to reconstruct, as Jacob proposes, the evolutive curve of social relations and intellectual

projects (ibidem). The letters also allow us to analyse the effects of gender, social, ethnic and class identities on social relationships.

One has to be careful, however, not to take the information provided in letters too literally. Scholars, just like anybody else, can contradict themselves, i.e. say one thing now and something else later. There are many explanations for this, ranging from strategic positioning to simple mood changes. A good example of such a contradiction is related to Pericot. On 2 December 1969 Pedro Bosch Gimpera, Pericot's former supervisor and one of his closest friends for many years, criticised him in a letter to Rafael Olivar Beltrand. He went as far as to say that he was even thinking of ending his friendship with Pericot (Olivar-Bertrand 1978: 25). Three days later, however, he wrote Pericot a letter that started with the usual "Dear friend Pericot" and said "I hope that next year we can meet here" (Gracia Alonso et al. 2002: letter 258 dated on 5-12-1969). It is possible that in the first letter Bosch was trying to please Olivar by criticising Pericot, as in the previous letter Olivar had seriously criticised Bosch's former disciple. This may partly explained why Bosch wrote what he did. One does not need to think about conspiracies to understand Bosch's two letters. We can see them as the result of the strategies that many people follow in normal communications, in which they try to make themselves agreeable to their interlocutor. One should not forget that when people write personal letters, they never expect them to end up becoming public and that the information they have written to one person will eventually be compared to that written to another.

The Pericot Archive (Fons Pericot) and other archival sources – background information

Much has been published about Pedro Bosch Gimpera and Spanish archaeology in the decades preceding the Spanish Civil War (Cortadella 2003a; Gracia Alonso 2011; Gracia Alonso et al. 2002; Ripoll 1977). In contrast, as explained above, much of the discussion in this book relates to the decades after the Spanish Civil War. The new information contained in this book comes from the Pericot Archive (Fons Pericot), now in the Library of Catalonia (Biblioteca de Catalunya) in Barcelona (Fig. 1.2). This contains an amazing number of letters received by Prof. Luis Pericot (1899-1978), mainly after the Spanish Civil War, as well as other items. In this book letters and other documents from the Pericot Archive are referred with FP- (Fons Pericot). If FP- is followed by a date, the file name where the letter is included should be obvious because of the text. In case

of ambiguity, the file name has been added. During Pericot's lifetime, many of these letters and other documents seem to have been kept in his office (Fig. 1.1), although they were probably only those he had most recently received. Most of the letters (probably the correspondence he had already dealt with or that which he did not want to deal with) were kept in his personal archive at home – if one can call piles of letters in boxes a personal archive! We have inferred this from a comment made by Margaret Smith, who once wrote "Dear Señor Pericot, This is a letter which is perhaps not for inclusion in the Archives on the top of your wardrobe, for we should like to ask for your advice!" (FP- Smith 4-5-1953). When Pericot's study was cleared after his death, most of the books were sold to second-hand bookshops. His correspondence, however, fared better. Although a small number of letters were apparently kept as relics by some of Pericot's former collaborators and all personal papers – mainly the correspondence between Pericot and his wife – were kept by the family (F. Gracia pers. comm. 23-8-2007), the remaining letters were saved for posterity. They were first offered to the University of Barcelona and, after that institution declined the offer, to the Library of Catalonia (BOD-Hawkes, Box 21, 16-12-1980, from María Luisa Pericot to Hawkes), which accepted it. A hundred large boxes full of documents were sent to the institution, sixty-five of them with correspondence and the remaining thirty-five with miscellanea, including newspaper clippings and notes on the Mediterranean Cruise of 1933. By 2012 three quarters of the correspondence had been organised and classified and the rest had gone through a first phase of classification by author in alphabetical order (A. Gudayol pers. comm., 22-3-2012).

The material was first worked on by one of Pericot's grandsons, Josep Maria Fullola Pericot, together with his colleague Francisco Gracia (Gracia Alonso et al. 2002). At that time the material was inaccessible to anybody else, not only because very few people knew it existed, but more importantly because a condition of the donation had been that access should remain restricted to family members until twenty-five years after Pericot's death, i.e., until 12 October 2003. It was just luck, therefore, that the author of this book attempted to use this source in the summer of 2004 while looking for material for her work on Childe (see Díaz-Andreu 2007b; 2007c; 2009). Although the material had not been classified at the time, fortunately the archivist in charge of the task, Anna Gudayol, agreed to support all research undertaken on the collection. Priority was given to classifying the part of the archive related to English-speaking scholars, without which the project on which this book is based would have been

impossible to undertake. The archives have been organised according to the Anglo-American Cataloguing Rules (AACR), although this work is still in progress and files with letters organised by institution may be reorganised by author, or vice versa (A. Gudayol pers.comm. 6-8-2007). Thus, although most of the letters are now arranged in order of the correspondent's name, a few have been classified under the name of the institution (museums, universities, cultural institutions, etc.) from which they came (e.g. the British Museum, the Council for Old World Archaeology, etc.).

Figure 1.2. The Biblioteca de Catalunya (Library of Catalonia), where the Pericot Archive is kept. Photo: M. Díaz-Andreu 2007.

Pending the complete organisation of the archive, the total number of correspondents remains unknown. However, a large number of English-speakers – four hundred names – have been identified among Pericot's correspondents. Most of these were British and American archaeologists, although there are also a few from other parts of the world, mainly Australia and India. About 850 letters are from British archaeologists. Of these, 738 are of an academic nature, written either by other academics or publishers. In contrast, there are only eleven drafts of letters written by Pericot. Searches for his letters have had limited success: a few have been

identified in the Hawkes Papers in the Bodleian Library, but those written to other archaeologists, such as Clark and Burkitt, appear not to have been kept (or were perhaps disposed of when they passed away). The Pericot Archive also contains about a hundred letters sent by his wife's English relatives. In addition, there are some twenty-nine from a certain Hugh Lindley-Jones, who seems to have holidayed in Bagur, the seaside village where Pericot spent his summers, and two written by somebody called Phillips (these may have been relatives). Although 850 may be appear to a lot of letters, it is not so many in relative terms when one takes into account the 636 missives exchanged between Pericot and the German archaeologist, Adolf Schulten (Francisco Gracia pers. comm. 2009). However, Schulten had a special relationship with Barcelona that dated from 1914 when Bosch Gimpera, then a student in Berlin, had visited him in Erlangen. As a graduate student, Pericot helped Schulten in his fieldwork in Catalonia, when the latter was looking for data for his book on Avieno (Pericot 1940a: 48). After World War II he may well have been behind the Ministry of National Education grant given to Schulten as a refugee in Spain from 1945 to 1950 (García y Bellido 1960: 228). These circumstances may explain the large amount of correspondence.

With regard to the chronological distribution of the letters written by British scholars (Fig. 1.3), it is clear that most relate to the years after the Civil War. This could well be because Pericot may have disposed of some of his correspondence at the time he was moving from one town to another: from Barcelona to Santiago in 1926, then to Valencia in 1927 and finally back to Barcelona in 1933 (see Chapter 3). However, this cannot be the only reason, as if it were one would expect to find an increase in the number of letters after 1933. As this is not the case, we have to consider that he disposed of any correspondence that may have been seen as politically incriminating (even if it was not) during and immediately after the Civil War. The lack of letters from British correspondents between 1939 and 1945 is obviously due to World War II. Other issues can also be highlighted. The correspondence starts very timidly at the time of Pericot's first chair in 1925. The peaks usually coincide with his trips to Britain, at least until the early 1960s, including those of 1927, 1932, 1934, 1946, 1951, 1955, 1958 and 1960 (Fig. 3.10). The exceptions are the trips he made during the summer holidays of August 1948 and July 1961. Also, his visits during the 1960s and 1970s, near to and following his retirement, seem to have raised less interest (1965, 1970, 1971 and 1972).

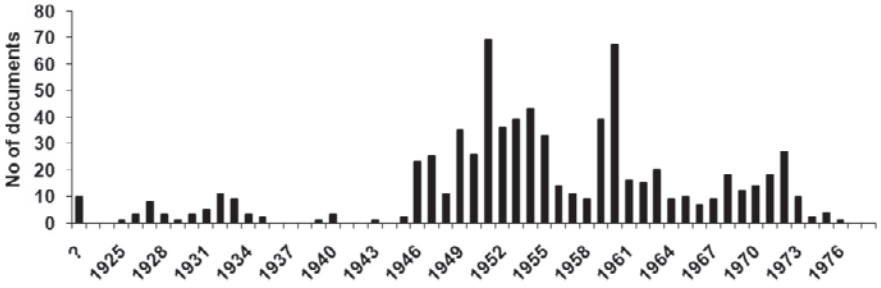

Figure 1.3.Chronological distribution of letters in the Pericot Archive written by British archaeologists.

The correspondence in the Pericot Archive clearly highlights the key importance of Britain (and also, later on in his life, the United States) in his international role. This was unusual at a time when all eyes were turned either towards France or Germany. The latter country was, for example, in the heart of his former supervisor and friend, Bosch Gimpera (and this explains the large number of letters exchanged with one of Bosch's former collaborators, Schulten). By expanding his outlook to the English-speaking areas of influence, Pericot became an innovator. He had been able to speak English since his youth; in an application for a JAE grant on 29 March 1921, he claimed that he had already mastered English and German. His initial attraction to Britain, however, may have been encouraged by his family connections. In 1925 he married Teresa Raurich i Maleras (1898-1968), who had many relatives in Britain (her father had been born in London in a family of Catalan immigrants) (Fullola i Pericot 2002: 49). As just mentioned, his fascination for Britain and the US was exceptional in Spain at the time. The English language was largely unknown in Spain; until the 1970s the second language learned in school was French, with German as an option in some schools and universities. His correspondents, probably aware of this fact, usually started out writing to him in French, but rapidly turned to English when they realised that he could understand that language. Most of Pericot's correspondents were English or based in England. Those who were not, such as Childe during his period in Edinburgh, came back to live in England when the opportunity presented itself.

In addition to the Pericot Archive other archival sources are used in this book. The Santa-Olalla Archive in the Museo de San Isidro- Los Orígenes de Madrid is one of them. At the request of the person in charge of the Santa-Olalla Archive, Salvador Quero, the signature to be given to the documents should start with "Museos de Madrid. Orígenes FD", which has been shortened here to "MuM-O". The catalogued documents have an inventory number starting with "1974/", whereas those that are not have a signature starting with "MuM-O ASO" indicating where they are in the archive. Documents whose reference start with "BOD-Hawkes"and "BOD-Myres" come from the Hawkes and Myres papers in the Bodleian Library respectively.There are also a few documents from the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning from the same library. Documents with "BM"can be found in the British Museum's Department of Prehistory and Europe archive.

This book

This book is divided into three main parts and, in order to facilitate its reading, at the end of the text there is an appendix with a short biography of many of the scholars mentioned. Part I deals with macrohistorical contexts and some basic information about the person who created the archive, Luis Pericot. This will be followed by a second section with a description and analysis of the relationships established between Pericot and his British colleagues. The third part contains an examination of the authority and academic value linking the individuals discussed in Part II, with the macrohistorical development highlighted in Part I.

Part I provides some contextual information and sets the scene. This chapter serves as an introduction with an explanation of some of the main concepts and methods guiding this book, including a description of its principal source of information, the Pericot Archive. Topics discussed in this initial section include the number of letters and correspondents, gaps in the correspondence and the links between Pericot's trips abroad and the amount of missives exchanged. Chapter 2 offers a macrohistorical perspective, paying particular attention to the beginnings of prehistoric archaeology in Britain and Spain in the modern era, particularly during the years Pericot and his colleagues were professionally active - the 1920s to the 1970s. Several similar developments will be highlighted, beginning with what was a key event: the professionalisation of the teaching of prehistoric archaeology in the interwar years. The beneficiaries of this were young scholars who made up a cohesive group supporting each other

and displaying an active group identity. They mainly worked in universities, although their influence was felt far beyond their close network through the foundation of new journals and societies to publicise their own research and that of others who followed their line. Importantly, because of their age, they dominated academia in both countries for half a century, only retiring, in many cases, in the 1960s and even the 1970s. In Chapter 3 the focus is narrowed and attention is centred on the individual. A biographical description of the creator of the archive, Luis Pericot, is provided so that the reader is armed with a framework with which to embark on an analysis of the correspondence the Barcelona professor maintained with a large number of archaeologists around the world, particularly with British scholars. His life will be revealed chronologically in two major blocks dating from before and after the Spanish Civil War. A third section of his biography will deal with a study of him as a scholar: his contribution to knowledge, his disciples and his international role. The chapter will finish with an overview of his trips to Britain, the backbone of the arguments that follow in the ensuing three chapters.

Part II of the book (Chapters 4 to 6) delves more deeply into the individual, looking at some of the minute, sometimes even anecdotal, processes and practices that also contributed to the development of archaeology in Britain, Spain and beyond. This will lead us to the analysis of the 850 letters from British archaeologists in the Pericot Archive. Particular issues assessed will include the effect of their geographical locations on the development of activities such as the organisation of international projects and conferences and foreign fieldwork carried out by British and Spanish archaeologists. Also, some thought will be given to the impact that the geopolitical changes between the 1920s and the 1970s had on decisions about which partners to choose for international projects and where to undertake fieldwork.

The description and analysis of the content and significance of the correspondence received by Pericot will be divided into three chapters corresponding to the geographical bases of his main correspondents in Britain: London, Cambridge and Oxford. Chapter 4 focuses on London and on the exchanges between Pericot and two of his main allies in Britain, Tom Kendrick and Gordon Childe. As the latter spent almost twenty years of his life in Edinburgh, some information about him while outside London is also given. Despite the fact that Childe was a professor in Edinburgh for much longer than in London, most of Pericot's encounters with him took place in London, at international conferences or

in Spain. A chapter has not been devoted to the Scottish capital because to Pericot Edinburgh meant Childe (although he may have visited the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland during the Christmas holidays of 1925-26). It seems that he never had the intention of communicating with anybody else in Scotland or of continuing links with scholars there once Childe had left. The northern section of the British Isles, beyond the Golden Triangle of Oxford, Cambridge and London, was not a priority in Pericot's eyes. The London chapter also includes information about other lecturers at the Institute of Archaeology, Frederick Zeuner and John D. Evans, as well as the student Barbara Pell and the exhibition of Spanish prehistoric rock art held in London in 1960.

Chapter 5 revolves around the letters received from the pioneers of Cambridge prehistoric archaeology, Miles Burkitt, Dorothy Garrod, Gertrude Caton Thompson, Grahame Clark and Glyn Daniel, as well as a number of students who worked on Spanish archaeology. The analysis of Oxford in Chapter 6 starts with two scholars with whom Pericot had an early but brief correspondence, E.T. Leeds and John L. Myres. It then devotes much of its attention to one single scholar, Christopher Hawkes, and in relation to him returns to the subject of international congresses already introduced earlier in that chapter and in Chapter 2. A discussion of several students from Oxford, including Margaret Smith, will also be incorporated into the information provided.

It is in Part III, starting with Chapter 7, that the connection is made between the individual and the larger socio-political and cultural framework. This combination of grand narrative and microhistory has been the major challenge of this study. The information obtained from the correspondence and described in Part II is looked at again in the following section of the book from a different angle and enhanced with the analysis of other types of evidence, including reviews and translations. The goal of Part III is to examine how geography influences the production, consumption and circulation of knowledge. To what extent does the perception of the geography where knowledge is produced influence its dissemination and reception? Issues of academic authority and credibility will be discussed in this context.

CHAPTER TWO

THE GEOGRAPHICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT

This chapter examines contexts. It will delve into the academic framework of the relationships between British and Spanish archaeologists during the years covered by the correspondence kept in the Pericot Archive – the 1920s to the 1970s. The key importance of institutionalisation in the careers of those who wrote the letters has led to this issue becoming the backbone of the chapter. An initial section on the background to institutionalisation will be followed by a discussion of the institutional development of archaeology in the two geographical areas that came into contact in the correspondence discussed in this book, Britain and Spain. This chapter will be followed by another providing a biographical account of Luis Pericot, the scholar whose archive has been the basis of this book. This is considered necessary because he is largely absent from the archive, as he only rarely kept his own replies to the letters. In practice, this means that his perspective has now largely been lost and is unknown to those who would like to reconstruct the events of that time. Special attention will be paid to an overview of his contacts with Britain, with the aim of facilitating a better understanding of his dealings with particular scholars in specific periods. Chapters 2 and 3, therefore, set the scene for the correspondence described in Chapters 4 to 6.

The background to institutionalisation: archaeology in Europe before the 1920s

During the modern period, training in those fields of knowledge that were deemed worthy of study underwent significant changes. Most of those fields still studied today as university degrees emerged during the eighteenth and especially the nineteenth century. A key aspect in tracing the appearance of a novel appreciation of particular knowledge areas is to look at the degree of institutionalisation developed for their study. In the case of archaeology, the seventeenth and, especially, the eighteenth century

saw the emergence of a few institutions concerned with the material remains of the past. It was then that this subject gradually became a focus of interest in learned societies, museums, universities and heritage administration bodies and the management of antiquities began to be regulated by legislation. The people behind this development believed that knowledge of the ancient past was crucial for the advancement of nations and/or empires. Institutionalisation represented a dramatic shift in the study of antiquity. There was a large increase in the number of people working on the past, backed up by many more who were interested in it and an increase in funds made available for its study.

Institutionalisation, however, did not lead to a better appreciation of every period and type of archaeology. Initially, the humanistic appeal of the great ancient civilisations, which began during the Renaissance continued. Thus, the prestige already given to the Classics since the Renaissance was further reinforced and linked to new ideas of civilisation and progress. Other types of antiquity had to wait longer to be integrated into the rhetoric of the past. However, tension arose between those who studied the past through texts and the antiquarian archaeologists who tried to approach it by analysing its material remains. Even those who focused on the classical, which enjoyed the greatest admiration and number of practitioners, had to endure being considered inferior if they did not use the study of texts as their main means of acquiring knowledge of antiquity. The prevalence of the philological model throughout the nineteenth century meant that archaeology was thought by most to be a mere support allowing historians and philologists to confirm the information provided in texts. Despite this, the gradual transformation in the methodology used for historical studies helped the incorporation of archaeology as an academic discipline; the introduction of the critical study of original sources affected not only the analysis of manuscripts and other written documents, but also turned the focus of attention towards inscriptions, coins and statues. In the nineteenth century this led to the inclusion in the university curriculum of the fields of epigraphy, numismatics and the history of art, all three of which used material retrieved through archaeology. Parallel to this development the study of the national past grew in importance throughout the nineteenth century and brought a new awareness of the medieval and prehistoric periods, which were increasingly acknowledged in the institutions dealing with archaeology.

As far as the teaching of archaeology in the nineteenth century is concerned, the country that took the lead was France with the École de

Chartes. Opened in Paris in 1821, its main purpose was to teach how to handle historical documents. Archaeology, mainly medieval and post-medieval, became part of its curriculum in 1847 (Thirion 1997). In Spain, the Escuela Superior de Diplomática (Higher School of Diplomacy, i.e. Documents) was opened in 1856 and taught archaeology from the start (Peiró Martín and Pasamar Alzuria 1996). An alternative model to that developed in France and Spain was followed in other parts of Europe, where chairs were created at universities instead of schools. Thus in Germany chairs of (classical) archaeology were created for Christian Gotlob Heyne (1729-1812) in Göttingen (State of Hannover) and Prof. Georg Zoëga (1755-1809) in Kiel (then belonging to Denmark) from 1802 (Gran-Aymerich 1998: 115; Schiering 1969). In Greece, a German scholar, Ludwig Ross, also held the chair of archaeology at the University of Athens until 1843 (Étienne and Étienne 1992: 91). In Britain, in 1851 the University of Cambridge created the first chair of archaeology, the Disney Chair of Cambridge (see below).

The institutional recognition received by classical and medieval archaeology was not matched by prehistoric archaeology until the second half of the nineteenth century. It was only then that the preconditions for its favourable reception were laid down. Firstly, the growing acceptance of evolutionary theory in archaeology led scholars to embrace methods borrowed from the natural sciences. These scientific methods – stratigraphy, typology and seriation – corroborated sequences of events and changes through time, both key issues when dealing with prehistoric archaeology. Secondly, another effect of the scientific revolution in the natural sciences, led by scholars such as the German polymath Alexander von Humboldt, was that new sciences were created. Among them were geography and anthropology, disciplines with which the institutionalisation of prehistoric archaeology grew hand in hand. Thirdly, one should not ignore the political background of the integration of prehistoric archaeology into the study of the past; in this respect it is necessary to talk about nationalism, the political ideology that put the nation at the centre of the state. States could only have the political right to exist if they were based on a nation. In order to define one's own nation, as opposed to that of another, it was deemed necessary to know not only its flora, fauna and minerals, now described by the new natural scientists, but also its historical origins and growth from the earliest period to the better known historical periods. It is within this framework that history developed as a scholarly discipline, a process that, in the long term, also affected the prehistoric period. The bases for these two models of the institutionalisation of prehistoric

archaeology – on the one hand through the natural sciences, geography and anthropology, and on the other through history – were established in the nineteenth century. The institutionalisation itself, however, only came about in the twentieth century (Callmer et al. 2006). Britain and Spain are to a great extent examples of these two contrasting models of the development of prehistoric archaeology.

Prehistory as anthropology. A brief history of prehistoric archaeology in Britain

The history of British archaeology is currently attracting a great deal of attention. This is not new, as histories about how interest in antiquities developed have been written for at least a century. It is possible to distinguish between two major schools: the earliest began in Oxford and a second, later school was established in Cambridge. The first publications in this field were produced by the (then soon-to-be) Oxford-based scholar, Prof. John L. Myres. In his text "The Making of Modern Archaeology", a review of Michaelis' *A Century of Archaeological Discoveries* (Michaelis 1906) (a book translated into English in 1908), Myres emphasised the influence of politics in the development of archaeology and highlighted the predominance of German science. He lamented the disjunction in this development between the museums and academies in Britain, a separation that did not occur in other countries. Myres also inspired his disciple Tom Kendrick to explore the history of archaeology, and he did so by looking into a specific subject: the relationship between the history of religious beliefs and antiquarianism (Kendrick 1927; 1950) (more about this interest below). Kendrick was closely followed by another person with links to Oxford, Stuart Piggott (Piggott 1950b; 1956; 1968; 1976). One could perhaps trace this way of approaching the history of archaeology to current scholars, such as Richard Bradley (Bradley 1994; 1997).

A second major school in the study of the history of British archaeology developed in Cambridge after World War I, having started with Miles Burkitt. Given that his main training in archaeology had been with the Frenchman, Abbé Henri Breuil, it should not come as a surprise that Burkitt based his summary of the history of research in his handbook *Prehistory* (Burkitt 1921) on historical accounts of the discipline published in France and in particular those written by Gabriel and Adrian de Mortillet (Mortillet and Mortillet 1900) and Salomon Reinach (Reinach 1913). Burkitt was followed a few years later by one of his pupils, Glyn Daniel, who apparently wrote his first historiographical essay (Daniel

1943) as a reaction to the poor understanding people had of the Three-Age system proposed by Thomsen and Worsaae (Daniel 1986c: 216) (and also perhaps as a reaction to Childe (1935)?). Despite Daniel's dislike of Burkitt (Daniel 1986c: passim), he went along with him in his account of the history of archaeology in terms of the two areas he included in his historiographical accounts: prehistory and the archaeology of the Bible Lands (Daniel 1950). His approach was extremely successful, as we see the same areas becoming the centre of attention for many after him, including the British archaeologist, Jacquetta Hawkes (1963), the American Robert F. Heizer (1969) and even the Canadian Bruce G.Trigger (1989). Daniel's way of thinking was also followed by his disciple and co-author, Colin Renfrew, and through him has been translated into today's university teaching curriculum via widely distributed handbooks such as *Archaeology - Theories, Methods and Practices* (1st edition: 1991, in 2012 in its 6th edition).

The Cambridge branch of the study of the history of British archaeology and, to a more limited extent, the Oxford school, pursued an internalist approach and, therefore, mainly dealt with the history of ideas and theories in archaeology. An alternative perspective emerged in the mid-1980s when other scholars began to focus on different aspects, such as the social and institutional history of the discipline. Among them we find the historian Philippa Levine (1986) and the museologist Kenneth Hudson (1981). The study of practices has been the focus of scholars such as Bowden (Bowden and Mackay 1999), Bradley (1997; 2003), Collis (2001), Edgeworth (2003; 2006), Fagan (2005) and Lucas (2001). More recently, there has been a series of studies which examine these aspects, many of them as a result of doctoral theses either based on the study of a place such as Cambridge (Smith 2009b), Oxford (Price 2007), Wales (Brittain 2008) or, more generally, Britain (Roberts 2005; Stout 2008). Other authors have looked into women in archaeology (Carr 2012), antiquarianism (Owen 2000; Sebire 2006) and the history of a particular period (Briggs 2007; Gerrard 2003; Hingley 2007; O'Connor 2007; Rowley-Conwy 2007). The list of biographical publications is too long to be included here. Needless to say, the description of the institutionalisation of prehistoric archaeology in Britain given in the next two sections has been largely made possible thanks to all the above.

The precedents

Britain was no different to the rest of Europe in that prehistoric archaeology only became institutionalised in the twentieth century. Before that, classical antiquity and, to a much more limited extent, medieval antiquities were practically the only branches of archaeology to attract funding for either study or curation. However, this does not mean that the body of data considered worth studying remained unchanged throughout the years. From an interest almost entirely restricted to Greek, Roman and, to a limited extent, Egyptian antiquities in the early modern era, other monumental great civilisations began to attract the attention of nineteenth-century scholars. These included Mesopotamia and other less familiar monumental ruins and their associated inscriptions and coins from more distant places, such as India and China. In institutional terms, this type of monumental and philological archaeology was initially displayed in museums. The first of these was the British Museum, which had been founded in 1753, originally as a grand library decorated with, among other things, antiquities. Some importance was also given to medieval antiquities, fuelled by romanticism and an interest in the nation's past (Banham 1984; Gerrard 2003; Miele 1998). In addition to classical and medieval antiquity, there was a third area of material culture that also became an increasing focus of curiosity among British scholars and the gentry. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in the frenzy of European colonial expansion, the British encountered a myriad of previously unknown non-state peoples all over the world. Their material culture, perceived as primitive, was identified with the oldest remains antiquarians were finding in Europe at the time. Prehistoric and anthropological remains thus became linked and were jointly displayed in museums and studied by the same groups of scholars.

In the nineteenth century archaeology ceased to be the exclusive domain of the aristocracy and attracted an increasing number of followers among the middle classes. The broadening social base of those interested in antiquities can be seen in the membership of societies. A limited number of men, mostly from the highest echelons of society, were involved in the two principal eighteenth-century associations concerned with antiquities – the Society of Antiquaries of London, founded in 1707 and mainly interested in British antiquities (Sweet 2004: 81-90), and the Society of Dilettanti founded in 1734, which sponsored expeditions in search of Greek antiquities. Without diminishing the importance at least of the Society of Antiquaries (Pearce 2007), other societies that arose in the nineteenth century covered a much broader spectrum. The were mainly

founded in the 1830s and 1840s by members of the middle classes with an interest in antiquities and were associated with printing clubs and learned societies (Wetherall 1998: 21). Gradually local societies emerged in areas such as Kent, Surrey, Norfolk, Bedfordshire, Lancashire and Cheshire (Manley 1999: 107). Membership numbers increased throughout the century. In 1846, soon after it had been founded, the Sussex Archaeological Society had ninety members; a year later this had grown to 217 and by 1899 it had a membership of 600 (Manley 1999: 109). It is interesting to note that from 1888 these societies were coordinated through the Congress of Archaeological Societies (Champion 1996: 42). In addition to local societies there were also national ones such as the British Archaeological Association (1843), which soon split into the British Archaeological Association and the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (1845) (Wetherall 1998). Other societies specialised in particular aspects of archaeology. Examples of these were the Numismatic Society of London (1836) and the several architectural societies founded in 1841 in Durham, Lichfield, Exeter and Bristol (Wetherall 1998: 28-9). By the end of the century, the process of popularisation had led to a further widening of the social base. Those without academic credentials but with an interest in antiquities and other related subjects (ethnography, botany and an array of germane disciplines) came together in associations such as the National Photographic Record Association (Edwards 2006).

The explosion of societies fostered the creation of collections built up by their members. This in turn led to the opening of institutions to display them in the form of local museums. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, in addition to the private collections of the very rich, there were four museums. Two were in England - the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (founded in 1683) and the British Museum (1759) - and the other two were in Scotland – the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (1780) and the Hunterian Museum in Glasgow (1804). The Museums Act of 1845 allowed local authorities with populations of over 10,000 to spend a proportion of their income on subsidising local museums. This meant that many of the collections that had been built up by the local societies, some of which were already on display in one way or another, were able to be housed in city museums, such as those of Canterbury, Sheffield, Leicester and York. However, in contrast to developments in other parts of the continent, Britain was the only country in Western Europe not to open a national museum with British antiquities along the lines of, for example, the Musée des Antiquités Nationals in France (1867). A first attempt to open one in 1845 had failed (Champion 1996: 40) and a private initiative,

the Museum of National and Foreign Antiquities, opened in Liverpool in 1867, closed after only a few months (MacGregor 1998: 133-4). By then, the British Museum had made a first attempt at paying some heed to British antiquities, as a separate Department of British and Medieval Antiquities and Ethnography had been set up in 1866 under the direction of Augustus Wollaston Franks (Caygill 1992: 41). By 1910 virtually all the public archaeological collections still in existence in the period this book deals with – the 1920s to the 1970s – had already been formed (Pearce 1990: 17-19).

The widening of the social base of people with a general interest in archaeology, and in prehistory in particular, led to an increasing number of discoveries. In addition to the many mounds being opened at the time, (Briggs mentions a couple of thousand by the middle of the nineteenth century (Briggs 2007: 229)), there was a growing trade in antiquities, including prehistoric objects, in which most antiquarians of the time actively participated. Ideas coming from elsewhere, such as the introduction of the Three-Age System in the late 1840s, were unequally received in Britain, with English antiquarians remaining resistant to them (Rowley-Conwy 2007). However, prehistoric studies continued to advance with new contributions from Daniel Wilson, Joseph Preswich and John Evans in the middle decades of the century and later with a network of friends united in a secret society called the X Club. They included Sir John Lubbock, John Evans, Colonel Pitt Rivers and Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks, who helped each other to take over all the key institutions of the day and use them to promote the advance of evolutionism (Owen 2008).

The nineteenth century saw the first heritage protection legislation in Britain. The Ancient Monuments Protection Act of 1882 did what other countries had done decades earlier. After France had set up the first Monument Commissions in 1837, many other countries had followed suit, including Belgium, Russia and Spain (1844) (Choay 2001) (one could look at earlier – but less influential – precedents in Scandinavia (Chippindale 1983: 3, see also 17-18)). The 1882 Act led to the compilation of a list of scheduled monuments and to a first Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments headed by General Pitt Rivers. In 1908, Royal Commissions on Historical Monuments were established for England, Wales and Scotland (Champion 1996: 42) and soon after the Ancient Monuments Consolidation and Amendment Act of 1913 increased state powers for the management of archaeological monuments. However, in contrast to countries on the continent, such as Spain (see below), there was

no state funding of archaeological excavations. The Society of Antiquaries funded some archaeological digs and in the final years before World War II occasional funding would be provided by the Ministry of Works and the Prehistoric Society (Evans 1989: 443).

Given that interest in the classical world and the great civilisations had enjoyed centuries of intellectual acceptance, it is not surprising that the study of their archaeology was the first to be integrated into university teaching at the hand of the classics and the history of art. The earliest chair in the subject, the Disney Chair of Archaeology, was founded in Cambridge in 1851. It was occupied by the Reverend John Marsden (1803-1870), who was described as a little-known clergyman with some interests in antiquity (Wiseman 1992: 83-84, see also Leach 2007). The study of the classics became part of the university curriculum in the 1870s. Their importance in the Oxford undergraduate degree *Literae Humaniores* Classics was significantly increased in 1870 (Freeman 2007: 115) and at Cambridge the Classical Tripos were established in 1879 (Stray 1998; 1999). Part II of the latter offered students the possibility of studying archaeology. By this it meant Greek and Roman art, ancient topography, mythology, religion and 'the art and handicraft and the inscriptions of the ancient Greeks and Romans, in relation to their domestic and national life' (Beard 1999: 113). Prehistoric archaeology was not taught at British universities during this period.

The twentieth century: before World War II

From an institutional point of view, the innovation in archaeology in the twentieth century was the development of proper university teaching and an increasing specialisation in particular periods. In the following pages I will explain how this affected the teaching of the classics and Romano-British archaeology and, ultimately, also prehistoric archaeology. Museums and societies, the key institutions in the previous century, continued to exist, but they were relatively-speaking less influential in the development of the discipline. Prehistoric archaeologists were newcomers to the professional life. Many of them will be fundamental to the discussion in Chapters 4 to 6, and, as will be explained, they were very aware of their pioneering role. They formed a social network and, thanks to their collective effort, new societies, journals and key publications specialising in prehistoric archaeology became possible.

The twentieth century started in universities as a continuation of the previous decades. This is a subject about which little is known. After the organisation of undergraduate teaching of classics at Cambridge in the 1870s, it was Oxford's turn, although there archaeology only managed to become a stand-alone subject with the establishment of a PG Diploma in Classical Archaeology in 1909 (Freeman 2007: 169-176). A similar diploma was instituted in Liverpool, although not until three decades after the Institute of Archaeology had been set up in 1904. The Liverpool diploma was started in the 1930s and the first student to receive it was Edith Eccles in 1933 (Colin Wallace pers. comm. 7-3-2008). In addition to these degrees, the teaching of Romano-British archaeology also was also introduced by a handful of lecturers spread over many universities. At Mason College, the chair of classics was held by E.A. Schonnenschein, who continued in the post when the college was transformed into the University of Birmingham in 1900 (Freeman 2007: 450). In 1911, Philip Newbold was appointed lecturer in classics at Armstrong College (an adjunct of the University of Durham located in Newcastle), with the idea that he could devote the summer months to excavating Hadrian's Wall (Freeman 2007: 449). At Manchester University, J. H. Hopkinson lectured on classical archaeology between 1901 and 1904. In Aberdeen the Burnett-Fletcher Chair of History and Archaeology was created in 1903 (Aberdeen... ny). At the University of Leeds, Percy Dodds was appointed lecturer in classics in 1911, being joined by A.M. Woodward at some point before World War I and by H. G. Evelyn White in 1920 (Freeman 2007: 450). In Cardiff, the teaching of Romano-British archaeology began in 1920 as part of a degree scheme. The first lecturer was Mortimer Wheeler, who was appointed Keeper of Archaeology of the National Museum of Wales and Lecturer in Archaeology at University College, Cardiff. In 1924, when Wheeler became director of the museum, he was replaced for the first two years by Cyril Fox and then in 1926 by one of his pupils, Victor Nash-Williams (Manning pers. comm. 14-7-2009 and Welsh... ny). All the above data clearly indicate that interest in archaeology, and especially in classical and Romano-British archaeology, was growing and spreading out from the major universities, where it had been exclusively taught in the previous century, to many other higher institutions around the country.

In addition to developments in the teaching of classical and Romano-British archaeology, a twentieth century innovation was the introduction of the teaching of prehistoric archaeology at universities, a crucial step within the framework within which the correspondence discussed in this will be

placed. Chapters 4 to 6 will focus on those involved in the teaching of these new subjects. To begin with, before World War II, in contrast to the diversity of institutions offering tuition in classical and Romano-British archaeology, the teaching of prehistoric archaeology remained confined to the four main universities in Britain: Oxford, Edinburgh, Cambridge and London. However, as these four institutions accounted for three quarters of all students just before World War II and they also supplied most of the lecturers for the universities in the rest of the country (Anderson 2006: 117), their influence was paramount for all later developments. At Oxford, prehistoric archaeology became part of a PG Diploma in anthropology taught from 1905 (Read 1906: 57) and mainly instructed by Henry Balfour at the Pitt Rivers Museum (MacEnroe 1995: 8; Petch ny) (Tom Kendrick and Dorothy Garrod, two of the Pericot's correspondents discussed below in this book, were students in this programme). The teaching of prehistoric archaeology was also covered before World War II by others: Edward Thurlow Leeds gave undergraduate lectures on the Bronze and Early Iron Ages in the Ashmolean Museum and John Myres and Arthur Evans dealt with Greek prehistory in their university teaching (Myres 1915; Champion 2009: 17).

The Board of Anthropological Studies was set up in Cambridge in 1904 (its name was changed to the Board of Archaeology and Anthropology in 1920), although initially it was only able to grant diplomas (Smith 2009b: 17, note 22)[1]. In 1913 a BA Honours degree in anthropology was proposed and this made Cambridge the first university in Britain committed to teaching prehistoric archaeology at an undergraduate level, although only as part of an anthropology degree (ibidem: 22). To begin with, Alfred C. Haddon was responsible for teaching 'prehistoric anthropology' and if World War I had not prevented it, in 1915 a then young Miles Burkitt (also one of Pericot's correspondents, see Chapter 5) would have started giving lectures on 'Prehistoric Archaeology and Primitive Art'. He did teach some classes after the war, although he did not become a salaried university lecturer until 1926. Burkitt was, therefore, the first permanent lecturer teaching exclusively prehistoric archaeology in Britain. His change of status coincided with the creation of the Faculty of Anthropology and Archaeology and the setting up of an Archaeology and AnthropologyTripos course (Clark 1989: 29, 30; Smith 2009: 32).

[1] The date of 1904 does not seem to coincide with the assertions of others that in Cambridge the teaching of prehistoric archaeology in the newly created post-graduate anthropology diplomas started in 1908 (Fagan 2001: 13; MacEnroe 1995: 8).

However, Cambridge's exclusive position in 1926 as the only place where prehistoric archaeology was taught by a full-time salaried university lecturer did not last long. It was soon followed by Edinburgh with the appointment of Prof. Childe in 1927. Childe's courses were taught as part of the UG degree in Arts/History until 1933, when a BSc syllabus in Physical Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology was approved. Childe also received the funds for the Munro Lectureship in Prehistoric Archaeology and Anthropology (Ralston 2009: 50). This lectureship was established in 1910-11 and it appears that it was used to pay different lecturers every year; in 1921 the French archaeologist Henri Breuil was chosen to deliver a special ten-lecture course (Ralston pers. comm. 21-7-2009). Finally, in London Mortimer and Tessa Wheeler's initiative of opening an Institute of Archaeology met with success. Agreed in 1934, it took until 1937 for it to actually begin. A PG Diploma in Archaeology was taught there, although it is doubtful whether it included the teaching of British prehistoric archaeology (in the Institute's *First Annual Report 1937* the only reference to any degree or diploma is that of two students having been registered for "a diploma in Palestinian Archaeology" (David Harris pers. comm. 29-4-2009).

The institutionalisation of prehistoric archaeology in the interwar period benefited a generation of scholars born between the mid-1880s and 1910. They have been called the 'Golden Generation' (Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009b); the 'Heroic Band', the 'Radicals' (Stout 2008) and the 'Young Turks' (R.J. Mercer in Oxford DNB 2004-: Piggott). They set themselves up as a power group in academia for most of the period dealt with in this book. They all became active in the profession after World War I and between them covered a wide range of posts. Some, like Mortimer Wheeler, Tom Kendrick, Christopher Hawkes and Cyril Fox, worked in museums, at least during the earliest stages of their careers. Others, including Miles C. Burkitt and V. Gordon Childe, taught at universities, as did, at the very end of the period, both Grahame Clark, who was appointed a faculty assistant lecturer in 1936, and Dorothy Garrod, who was made a professor in 1939. Another member of this group was O.G.S. Crawford, who was appointed as the first Ordnance Survey Archaeology Officer. Others, like Alexander Keiller, had their own financial means and never became salaried workers; instead they paid others to work as archaeologists for them, as Keiller did with the young Stuart Piggott. Apart from Garrod, there were other women in this group, such as Jacquetta Hawkes and Aileen Fox, although they never obtained properly acknowledged professional jobs. In addition to the divisions in the group

along gender lines, it is also possible to subdivide the whole group into those born in the 1800s (Crawford, Keiller, Burkitt, Wheeler, Childe and Garrod) and the younger ones (Hawkes, Phillips, Clark, Piggott and all the wives). This division was reflected in the strength of the ties between the members, which were more marked among those belonging to the same age group.

Despite the differences mentioned above, the whole group formed a close-knit network (Stout 2008: Chapters 2 and 3). They became important members of many of the key archaeological institutions of the time, starting with the Society of Antiquaries, where Crawford was elected to the Council in 1928 and Hawkes became a fellow in May 1931. Importantly, in 1935, mainly through the work of Grahame Clark (and also Christopher Hawkes), they managed to merge the many societies dealing with prehistory into a single, influential body, the Prehistoric Society, which began to publish a journal, the *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* (Smith 1999). This publication was controlled by youngest members of the group and became the second voice of the Golden Generation group, the first being *Antiquity*, which had been founded by one of its oldest members, Crawford, in 1927. However, they also published in the journals founded by previous generations, including the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* (1872), and, especially, *Man* (1901). Significantly, the Golden Generation established closed contacts with scholars in both Germany and Scandinavia. This, and the experience of World War I, resulted in the adoption of scientific methods of detection, retrieval and conservation, including aerial photography, the reconstruction of palaeoecologies through palaeobotany and fauna and distribution maps of settlements. The importance of methods was reflected in publications such as *Man and His Past* (Crawford 1921) (through which the German-influenced landscape archaeology was first imported into British archaeology) and that of theories in *Changing methods and aims in prehistory* (Childe 1935).

World War II and beyond

The situation in Germany from 1933 had many effects on British archaeology in general and on prehistoric archaeology in particular. Firstly, it forced archaeologists to take a stand, even if it was to adopt a neutral attitude. It would be very difficult to deny, however, that there was a certain initial admiration for German science in general, particularly for the great advances in the institutionalisation of prehistoric archaeology

that took place during the thirties in Germany (Evans 1989: 441). Visits there were frequent in the years before the war: Childe, Clark, Crawford, Hawkes, Kendrick and many others kept returning to the country perceived at the time to be the most advanced in science (Evans 1989: 40). Most archaeologists, with the partial exception of Gordon Childe (Díaz-Andreu 2009), tried to remain neutral when faced with difficult situations, such as the removal of people not acceptable to the Nazi regime from international associations like the CISPP (see Chapter 6). Someone as little suspect of right-wing leanings as Crawford put it this way some years after the conflict:

> I liked the Nazis as little as he [Bersu] did; but I had long ago considered what attitude to adopt in my dealings with archaeologists abroad, which both Antiquity and the Roman Map involved, and I had decided to make no distinctions between Nazis, Fascists, Communists or Democrats. (Crawford 1955: 248)

It was within this framework of intellectual neutrality that it became possible to have two archaeologists with completely opposing ideologies as president of the Prehistoric Society in two ensuing years. Thus, the president for 1937, Adolf Mahr, an anti-Semite and pro-Nazi who would lead the Nazi party in Ireland, was followed in 1938 by O.G.S. Crawford, a Communist.

Secondly, a series of German scholars took refuge in the United Kingdom from 1933 on. Three of them are mentioned in this book: the young medievalist Ernst Kitzinger, the geochronologist Frederick E. Zeuner, and the Director of the Romano-German Commission (Romisch-Germanisches Kommission) until 1935, Gerhard Bersu. Another to take refuge in Britain, but not mentioned in the following chapters, was the Austrian classical archaeologist, Paul Jacobsthal (Crawford and Ulmschneider 2010). Only the second of these stayed in Britain and, more information about him will be provided below. Kitzinger was deported to Australia, from where he migrated to the US. Although the last of the three, Bersu, returned to Germany in 1950, after ten years in Britain and three more in Ireland, his role in British archaeology is still remembered. A major impact of his work while in Britain was on excavation methods. These were put into practice while he worked on the sites of Little Woodbury in Wiltshire (1938-39), King Arthur's Round Table (1939), and some Iron Age houses (1940-45) he excavated while interred as a German citizen on the Isle of Man. The main innovations he brought to Britain were the technique of large-scale excavation and a new understanding of Iron Age houses as

post-houses instead of pit-houses (Bradley 1994; Evans 1989: 445). His method of (quasi-) open area excavation challenged that of the grid system developed by Mortimer and Tessa Wheeler at Maiden Castle and caused a certain tension that has been well analysed by later scholars. Bradley (1994: 32), for example, sees the duality of Bersu v. Wheeler not only as one of excavation methods, but also of naturalistic section drawings versus schematic representations, settlement archaeology as opposed to chronological studies and, finally, the competing claims of the plan versus the section drawing. Bersu's case exemplifies how British science benefited from those who took refuge in the country while escaping from the Nazi terror, as the newcomers brought with them new methods and practices that enriched the discussions being held at the time.

The war also brought about a debate on whether the state should fund archaeological fieldwork and research. Whereas, as commented above, before the war there was much admiration for Germany with regard to state sponsorship and scholars such as Clark advocated state funding of archaeological excavations (Clark 1939: 211), by 1943 the mood had changed. This was made evident in the discussions at the conference on 'The Future of Archaeology' (CFA 1946) and others held later (Evans 1989: 442). The 'The Future of Archaeology' conference was also important for another reason. It was the occasion on which the Congress of Archaeological Societies was transformed into the Council for British Archaeology (CBA). This institution, which has also been seen as a mechanism by which professionals controlled amateurs (Stout 2008: 40-44), aimed to promote the archaeological study of areas devastated by the war and awaiting redevelopment. Local excavation committees were formed and information about reconstruction projects sought. Some of the work started before the war ended and there was much to do throughout the 1940s and 50s because of the reconstruction and development of towns and roads (Champion 1996: 51).

For at least three decades, prehistoric archaeology in universities became the almost exclusive realm of those who had started work in the 1920s, all members of the "Golden Generation". They continued to work along the lines developed before the war. Culture history, the archaeology that sought to define archaeological cultures in the past, continued to be the backbone of British prehistoric archaeology. Before the war, Childe had insisted on its definition:

> The culture is not an a priori category elaborated in the studies of philosophers and then imposed from outside upon working archaeologists.

> Cultures are observed facts. The field-worker does find specific types of tools, weapons, and ornaments repeatedly associated together in graves and habitations of one kind and contrasted with the artefacts found in graves and settlements of another kind. The interpretation of the observed phenomenon is supplied by ethnography. The traits of a culture are thus presented together to the archaeologists because they are the creations of a single people, adjustments to its environment approved by its collective experience; they thus express the individuality of a human group united by common social traditions (Childe 1935: 3).

However, in addition to cultures, types and chronologies, other concerns were added to the archaeological interpretations of this pioneering group after the war. Childe himself became interested in social and technological issues (Wailes 1996) and, for his part, Grahame Clark paid greater attention to the economic and social aspects of prehistory (Fagan 2001: chs. 5-9). Christopher Hawkes also made some incursions into archaeological theory with his ladder of inference, in which he considered that:

> 1. To infer from the archaeological phenomena to the *techniques* producing them I take to be relatively easy (...)
> 2. To infer to the *subsistence-economics* of the human groups concerned is fairly easy. Operationally, of course, it is laborious (...)
> 3. To infer to the *social/political institutions* of the groups, however, is considerably harder (...)
> 4. To infer to the *religious institutions and spiritual life* may seem superficially, perhaps, to be easier, and for the first steps it may sometimes be so.
> (Hawkes 1954: 161-2, emphasis in the original).

They all became increasingly concerned with new techniques: from the interest in palaeoecology already in place in the pre-war Fenland Research Committee (1932-48) (Smith 1997; Smith 2009b: 53-56) and developed in the Star Carr excavations (1949-53) (Clark 1954), to radiocarbon and archaeometry (Hawkes managed to set up the Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art at Oxford University in 1958). In the 1960s, these trends developed into an almost complete faith in science, which the new generations would tag as analytical (Clarke 1968) (in the US, New Archaeology (Binford and Binford 1968; Willey and Phillips 1958)) and later reframe as processual archaeology.

The teaching of archaeology continued to be based in Cambridge, London and Oxford. In Cambridge, archaeology and anthropology became a full Tripos in 1948, thanks to the Disney professor, Dorothy Garrod, who managed to enlarge and develop the Archaeological and Anthropological

Tripos into Part I and Part II, not only combining archaeology with anthropology, but also strengthening previously established links with classics and oriental languages (Clark 1989: 59, 61). After her voluntary retirement in 1952, the Disney Chair of Archaeology went to Grahame Clark. On the other hand, the palaeolithist, Charles McBurney, was made a lecturer, a post that had also been held from 1948 by Glyn Daniel. In the years before and after World War II, and well into the 1960s, some Cambridge students obtained jobs in Africa (ibidem: 100-9) and from the 1960s in Australia and New Zealand (ibidem: 110-120).

In London, Gordon Childe was appointed director of the Institute of Archaeology in 1946. One of his colleagues was Frederick Zeuner, a refugee who had been made a part-time professor of environmental archaeology in 1945; during his tenure others were appointed (Max Mallowan as professor of Western Asiatic archaeology, Kathleen Kenyon with a lectureship in Palestinian archaeology and Ian Cornwall as a lecturer in environmental archaeology (Davis 2008; McCall 2001)). However, only a diploma was taught until 1968, when an undergraduate BA (and shortly thereafter a BSc) was offered. By then it had been more than a decade since the Institute had moved from its first home, St John's Lodge in Regent's Park, where it had been officially opened in April 1937, to its present location in Gordon Square. Childe was succeeded by William F. Grimes (1956-75), a specialist in Roman and medieval archaeology in Wales and London, and his teaching was covered by a new lecturer, John D. Evans (Harris 1997-98).

In Oxford, the scholars who had taught prehistoric archaeology before World War II (Henry Balfour, Edward Thurlow Leeds, John Myres and Arthur Evans) had all retired or passed away by the time Hawkes arrived in 1946. Hawkes offered undergraduate lectures, but only a small proportion of his students specialised in prehistoric archaeology (Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009b). Until the end of the 1950s, there was no department in which he could work. His office was in Keble College. In 1958, twelve years after his arrival, he managed to institute a postgraduate Diploma in European Archaeology that covered the period from the Neolithic to the Dark Ages (Harding 1992: 332), Derek Roe pers. comm. April 2009). Hawkes moved his office to Beaumont Street (Hawkes 2007: 158-9). In 1965, the old Diploma in Anthropology was subdivided into four different diplomas, all administered by the Faculty of Anthropology and Geography. One of the new options was the Diploma in Prehistoric Archaeology,

taught mainly by Dennis Britton and Derek Roe in the Baden-Powell Laboratory and the Pitt Rivers Museum.

The strength shown by the Golden Generation in its first decades before World War II was beginning to show cracks after the war. On the one hand, the differences between the older and younger members of the group became more apparent. Christopher Hawkes, Stuart Piggott and Grahame Clark managed to set themselves up in three principal university chairs: Oxford (1946), Edinburgh (1946) and Cambridge (1952) respectively. However, their command was curtailed by the older generation: Crawford, Childe and particularly Wheeler. The latter managed to engage younger archaeologists and place them in key positions: it seems that Glyn Daniel began to work with Wheeler in the early 1950s as a TV populariser (Jordan 1981). When Crawford died in 1957, the editorship of *Antiquity* went to Glyn Daniel. Also, Childe retired early so that his successor, William F. Grimes, could organise the Institute of Archaeology's move to the new building in Euston Square. The choice of Grimes was not a neutral one: he had been one of Mortimer Wheeler's students in Cardiff in the 1920s and had subsequently worked at the National Museum of Wales, later succeeding Wheeler as director of the London Museum in 1945. The alliance between members of the younger generation also suffered. The relationship between Hawkes and Clark, for example, showed flaws in the the late 1950s, when projects they had started together were appropriated by one or the other. Thus, the Prehistoric Society increasingly became associated with Cambridge and the CBA with Oxford. Furthermore, in the mid-1960s there seems to have been some tension over the British Academy project "The Early History of Agriculture", which ended up being associated exclusively with Cambridge. Hawkes' failure to create a UG degree at Oxford also limited his chances of becoming influential through his students, although the set up of the Oxford Institute of Archaeology helped ease the situation. Meanwhile, Clark's international expansion from the mid-1960s also represented a rupture, as Cambridge students would start obtaining the newly-created jobs in countries such as Australia and New Zealand, increasing his authority on a global scale (Clark 1989: fig. 35). In 1968-69, the BA in Archaeology began to be taught in London (1968-69) (the BSc started in the following academic year (Harris 2009: note 18)). All this indicated that the Golden Generation had ceased to exist as a network by the 1960s.

The expansion of Cambridge students throughout the world helped ease the problems caused by the increasing number of trained archaeologists.

Students graduating in the late 1940s (Beavis and Hunt 1999: 3) and the 1950s (Michael W. Thompson pers. comm.) had few possibilities of finding a job in archaeology. Graduates finishing in the 1960s had it easier, as the post-World War II baby boom had led to an expansion in university teaching and the opening of new departments. Archaeology began to be taught at many universities and by the end of the 1970s thirty-four British universities were offering courses in which archaeology was either the focus or part of the content of a first degree course (Hudson 1981: 130). Furthermore, the 1960s and 70s were a golden age for extramural archaeology (Rowley 1999). In addition, new job opportunities arose. Some worked as freelance archaeologists during the 1950s (Rahtz 1999: 13), although in the 1960s these were still a rare breed. Excavations were managed by university lecturers and museum professionals in their free time with the help of students and volunteers (Hinchliffe 1999: 23), but this changed radically in 1971. In that year the Department of Environment was set up and Rescue Archaeology, an association to assist in the recording and conservation of archaeological remains, was founded (Hudson 1981: 145-6; Pearce 1990: 31). All this led to the emergence of professional field archaeology units in the 1970s, with teams that grew to a hundred or more individuals (Hinchliffe 1999: 23). Also, with its origins in 1973, but only officially formed in 1982, a professional institute to oversee standards, the Institute for Field Archaeologists (IFA), was established. However, all these changes took place at the end of the professional lives of most of the main actors in this volume, indeed at a time when many of them were already dead.

Prehistory as history: prehistoric archaeology in Spain

In contrast to Britain, in Spain the history of archaeology was a field poorly treated by scholars until the late 1980s. Before that time, however, there were some reflections on the development of the discipline. These were made in four types of publications. Firstly, from very early on many obituaries and homages were published in which a lot of historical data were expounded. Secondly, the key lectures given by those who reached the higher echelons of intellectuality, on the occasion of their entry into any of the academies, were used to provide an overview of the state of the art in the new member's field, and that included a historiographical critique of previous developments. Thirdly, introductory chapters and sections were also employed to summarise previous research on the subject under discussion. Finally, there were publications about the inauguration of new research centres (Pericot 1930c) or the situation of a

particular branch of archaeology, usually presented at a conference (Hernández Pacheco 1915). After the Spanish Civil War, first Pericot and then Ripoll and Beltrán wrote many articles on the history of archaeology (obituaries, articles on their memories and the like), although only short syntheses were written on the historical development of Spanish archaeology (Beltrán Martínez 1988; Ripoll Perelló 1993). There were also a few historiographical articles on particular fields of research such as rock art (Beltrán Martínez 1970; Ripoll Perelló 1970).

The situation changed radically in the late 1980s. In the last twenty years there have been three major Congresses on the History of Spanish Archaeology (Arce and Olmos 1991; Mora and Díaz-Andreu 1997; Mora et al. 2008) and several other more specific congresses held in areas of Spain such as Andalusia (Belén Deamos and Beltrán Fortes 2002; Belén and Beltrán Fortes 2007; Beltrán Fortes and Belén Deamos 2003; Beltrán and Gascó 1993; Gascó and Beltrán 1995). The interest in the history of archaeology can also be seen in the recent publication of a series of doctoral theses, including those of Jordi Cortadella (1992), Susana González Reyero (2007), Jorge Maier (1999b), Gloria Mora (1998) and Oscar Moro (2007), and bulky biographies of individual archaeologists (Cortadella 2003a; Díaz-Andreu 2004; Gracia Alonso 2011; Gracia Alonso et al. 2002; Wulff Alonso 2004). To finish what could be a long list of different publications, there have been works of synthesis that have helped to clarify much (Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009a; Gracia Alonso 2009). Several overviews of the history of twentieth-century Spanish archaeology have also been published in Spanish and some in English (among the latter, for example, Bellón et al. 2008; Díaz-Andreu and Ramírez Sánchez 2004; Gonzalez Reyero 2008; Gracia Alonso 2008). This field of research looks extremely healthy and is still attracting young researchers. Internalist and externalist approaches are either undertaken separately or in combination. It would be impossible to summarise all the debates in just a few paragraphs on Spanish prehistory, such as those provided below. The aim of the next three sections is to provide a general background and to enable a better understanding, from a Spanish perspective, of the events explained in Chapters 4 to 6 of this book.

The precedents

As in the case of the other countries in Europe, the archaeology that became institutionalised in nineteenth-century Spain was of the classical and medieval periods. However, in contrast to the situation in the imperial

powers, little attention was paid to the archaeology of the colonies, most of which were lost during the first three decades the nineteenth century, including the two colonies with most monumental antiquities: New Spain (Mexico) and the viceroyalty of Peru. The remaining colonies – Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines – lacked spectacular ruins and therefore their archaeology was left untouched or its study was taken over by one of the other major imperial powers with interests in the area, such as the French in the Philippines. As the financial means of most Spaniards was much lower than that of their peers in countries such as Britain, those interested in classical archaeology were not able to afford long stays in other countries, although as it happened in other countries, they bought collections of antiquities (Beltrán Fortes et al. 2007). State expeditions to other areas of the world, such as that of the Arapiles Frigate in 1871, were exceptions (Chinchilla 1993 and Ramírez Sánchez in Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009a). The only fieldwork undertaken on Roman sites took place on Spanish territory, but this rarely resulted in high quality publications, although there were some exceptions, such as the research produced by the engineer Eduardo Saavedra y Moragas (Ayarzaguena Sanz and Mora 2004).

Whereas nineteenth-century Spain disregarded the archaeology of its colonies, other colonial powers showed an interest in Spanish archaeology. Although its allure could not compete with the classical antiquities of Greece and Italy or the exoticism of the East, it had a bit of everything. The romantic image that Spain had acquired among northern Europeans attracted a stream of foreign travellers. The largest contingent came from French-speaking countries, mainly France, but also Belgium. They were interested in prehistory (Louis Lartet, Émile Cartailhac, Édouard Capelle and the Belgian, Louis Siret); protohistory and the Roman period (George Bonsor, Eugène Stoffel, Pierre Paris and Eugène Albertini); numismatics (Arthur Engel and Aloïss Heiss); and the Canary islands, then under colonial dispute (Sabin Berthelot and René Verneau). Outstanding among the Germans was the epigrapher Emil Hübner (who also went to Britain, see Freeman 2007: ch. 4). The British were less interested in Spain, although there were some, such as the palaeontologists Hugo Falconer and George Busk. All (except perhaps Hübner) shared a number of characteristics. They all wrote most of their works in their native language, published them in their respective countries, and only exceptionally contributed to Iberian journals.

Spanish archaeology came to be regulated in the nineteenth century. On the basis of the 1752 instructions, in 1803 the Royal Academy of History drew up the first legal regulations for the preservation of heritage. However, nothing much occurred for three decades after the Napoleonic invasion and the extremely absolutist and anti-French politics imposed by King Ferdinand VII. After the monarch's death in 1843, much of what took place in Spanish archaeology was a mirror image of the events in France. The catalyst of change as far as antiquities were concerned was the desecration of the religious orders undertaken in the 1840s and 1850s. This produced a remarkable increase in the number of works of art entering private or public collections, the latter of which were converted into the first national and provincial museums in the 1840s (in Madrid, Castellón, Gerona and Huesca, among others) (Sanz-Pastor 1990: passim). Linked to them and inspired by the setting up in France of the Commissions for Historic Monuments, others were established under the same name in Spain in 1844. The aim of these commissions was to protect and care for buildings, monuments and artistic objects that were special due to the beauty of their construction or their antiquity, their origin or the importance of their history (Royal Order, 2 April 1844). They were partly controlled by the Royal Academies of History and Fine Arts. This resulted in academicians – a close network of individuals who in most cases belonged to both academies – being invested with huge powers over the functioning and funding of the most important cultural institutions in Spain. The power of the academies again seems similar to that in France. The contact between academics of both countries must have been intensive: the plans to create the Musée des Antiquités Nationals on the outskirts of Paris also served as stimulus for the opening, in the same year of 1867, of the National Archaeological Museum (Museo Arqueológico Nacional) in Madrid.

With regard to associations, in Spain the differences in the social bases of eighteenth and nineteenth century societies are less clear than in Britain, probably because of the weakness of the growth of the Spanish middle classes. However, very similar processes took place: the eighteenth-century Societies of the Friends of the Country (Sociedades de Amigos del País), which were probably less elitist than the societies of the time in Britain, were partly replaced in the nineteenth century by other more specialised ones. The nature and founding dates of the societies are surprisingly similar in both countries. Some of those set up in Spain were the Numismatic Society of Madrid (1838), the Spanish Academy of Archaeology (1844) and the Archaeological Society of Tarragona (1844,

Sociedad Arqueológica Tarraconense). Many others appeared later in the century, including the archaeological societies of Seville (1870), Valencia (1871), Mallorca (1880), Carmona (1885), Osuna (1887), Barcelona (1878, 1888), Mataró (1888) and Cádiz (1893). In the third part of the century, some of them focused on the territories of the new emergent nationalisms. In Catalonia, for example, archaeology was one of the major interests of the Catalan Excursion Societies (1876 and 1878). All these associations channelled the interests of the many scholars officially working in fields as diverse as the church, the army, architecture, medicine and mining. Those interested in prehistoric archaeology worked in fields such as geology, anthropology and biology. In contrast, medieval archaeology and architecture was the field of architects, archivists, lawyers, artists and art historians.

Again following the French example, although in this case several decades later, a Higher School of Diplomacy (Escuela Superior de Diplomática) was set up in 1856 in the image of the Parisian École de Chartes of 1821. Its remit was to train specialists to work in archives, libraries and museums, although it was only in 1868 that it officially admitted museums, a year after the National Archaeological Museum was set up. This was the main centre for educating those who aspired to work in the increasing number of provincial museums. It may not come as a surprise that many of the teachers were also academicians. It was within this framework that the *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* began publication in 1871. This journal, together with others published by the Royal Academy of History and the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, became the most powerful publication during the last three decades of the nineteenth century. Prehistory was first taught at the University of Seville in 1872. The course was given by the geologist, Juan Vilanova, and the journalist and writer, Francisco M. Tubino. The change in the political regime from liberal to conservative brought the venture to an end.

The first third of the twentieth century - before the Spanish Civil War

Three main periods can be distinguished in the history of Spanish archaeology during the years 1900 to 1970. The first two are divided by the tragedy of the Spanish Civil War (1936-39) and the third started after the winner of that war, the dictator Francisco Franco, died in 1975. As Pericot's death came only three years later, in 1978, we will only look at the two first periods in this and the following section.

In the period before the Civil War, Spain was marked by deep political instability, partly as a result of the loss of the last remnants of its colonial empire, Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines, in 1898. However, this initial rupture, which was deeply felt by the intellectual elites, contrasted with the official continuation of the political system created in the last third of the nineteenth century, the Restoration (1875-1923). This was a political regime based on *caciquismo* and the existence of two major political parties that alternated in power. Both parties allowed the church to maintain a privileged position in the regulation of society, while a late industrialisation of part of the country led to social inequality and a growing discontent made evident by major social unrest. This combined with an unequal economic growth, with Catalonia and the Basque Country growing to establish themselves as the two most powerful economies in Spain. The emergence of alternative nationalisms in these two regions, as well as in others less economically powerful, such as Galicia and, to a certain extent, Andalusia, made for a complex political landscape in the first three decades of the century. The dictator, Miguel Primo de Rivera (1923-30), failed to bring an end to these troubles and the increase in tension resulted in the instability of the following regime, the Republic (1931-39), and eventually led to the Civil War (1936-39). This was the context in which prehistoric archaeology became institutionalised in Spain. However, as in political life, and strangely, perhaps, similarly to Britain, two major periods can be distinguished: one before the early 1920s, with a certain continuity of the nineteenth century, and the other after, with major developments, especially in the field of prehistoric archaeology.

In the early years of the twentieth century, the institutions that had predominated in the nineteenth century, mainly the Royal Academies, the Provincial and National Museums and the School of Diplomacy (whose lecturers were transferred to the universities in 1900), continued with their activities. At the University of Madrid, the academician Catalina, the professor of archaeology who moved from the School of Diplomacy to the university in 1900, died in 1911. His chair was then subdivided and given to two other academicians, José Ramón Mélida (Chair of Archaeology, including in its remit some prehistoric archaeology) and Antonio Vives (Epigraphy and Numismatics). Soon after, clientelism allowed the creation of a third chair for a young man and academician-to-be, Manuel Gómez-Moreno (1913, Islamic Archaeology). At the same time, a young professor of geology at the Faculty of Science, the French-influenced Eduardo Hernández-Pacheco (chair 1910), also incorporated some lectures on early

prehistory into his teaching (Bellón et al. 2008; Díaz-Andreu and Cortadella 2006).

The continuity with the previous period can also be seen in the organisation of Provincial Monumental Catalogues by the Royal Academy of Fine Arts. This project was begun in 1902 and aimed to select and analyse the most important heritage buildings in each of the Spanish provinces. Not surprisingly, Gómez-Moreno, then one of the protégés of a famous academician, was commissioned to undertake this work and, after some negotiation, Mélida was also brought in (Díaz-Andreu 2004: LX-LXIV). Continuity can also be seen in the institution set up in 1912 to administer the new legislation on archaeological excavations, the Higher Council for Excavations and Antiquities (JSEA, Junta Superior de Investigaciones y Antigüedades), which was made up of academicians (Díaz-Andreu 2004: Tables 3, 4 and esp. 5). However, despite these connections with the previous century, some changes were made. The sense of cultural crisis created by the disaster of 1898 led to a feeling that there was an urgent need to reform many areas and among them teaching was felt to be a priority. Thus, in 1907 the Council for the Expansion of Study and Scientific Research (JAE, Junta para Ampliación de Estudio e Investigaciones Científicas) was established, following the model of the Collège de France. In it, two new institutions were set up: the Centre for Historic Studies (CEH, Centro de Estudios Históricos) and the Commission for Palaeontological and Prehistoric Research (CIPP, Comisión de Investigaciones Paleontológicas y Prehistóricas, an imitation of the Parisian Institute of Human Palaeontology). These institutions were at the centre of a series of specialised publications: the *Memorias de la JSEA* (where the reports of excavations subsidised by the JSEA were published, the first one in 1915), the *Memorias de la CIPP* (from 1914 to 1930) and the journal *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología* (1925).

The break with the nineteenth century, only timid in the first two decades of the twentieth century, became evident in the 1920s, and the field of prehistoric archaeology clearly exemplifies this. The alternative came at the hand of the founder members of the Spanish version of the Golden Generation, two new professors trained under the influence of German scholarship, Pedro Bosch Gimpera (chair in Barcelona 1916) and Hugo Obermaier (chair in Madrid 1922) (Díaz-Andreu and Cortadella 2006). They trained a new generation of prehistorians (Pericot among them) who would lay the basis for prehistoric archaeology from then on. These two teams contrasted, on the one hand, with those who had started teaching

prehistory in faculties of science (mainly Hernández-Pacheco) and, on the other, with those who had preceded them, even though they then overlapped in time: José Ramón Mélida and Manuel Gómez-Moreno. Regarding Hernández-Pacheco, the Golden Generation managed to halt his involvement in archaeology after several rows, the final one related to the chronology of rock art, after which Hernández-Pacheco turned his back on prehistory (Díaz-Andreu 2002: ch. 5). Bosch and Obermaier were also successful in diminishing the role of the other professors who had preceded them in the chairs of archaeology at the faculties of history and who also taught prehistoric archaeology, Mélida and Gómez-Moreno. In contrast to them and Hernández-Pacheco, Bosch and Obermaier not only specialised exclusively in prehistory, but also followed the German rather than the French school. This new influence can be clearly seen in the countries chosen to be to be visited by these two scholars and their acolytes with the grants instituted by the JAE (Díaz-Andreu 1996). The influence of German archaeology can also be seen in the alliances formed at this time between Bosch Gimpera and Obermaier and other European archaeologists (see Chapter 6, discussion on international congresses).

On a theoretical level, the influence of German archaeology was made clear by the increasing use of the term 'culture' in publications. Although it was used by Bosch Gimpera as early as 1912 to talk about a Hellenic culture (Bosch Gimpera 1912: 9) and in 1915 he referred to 'Centres of Culture', again meaning Greece (Bosch Gimpera 1915: 54), he did not use it in connection with prehistoric cultures in those years. The term came to be accepted in the 1920s, when he explained that culture meant an ethnic group, but not a race (Bosch Gimpera 1922: 4), and his disciples started to use it as a matter of fact. Pericot's thesis was one of the first to contain the term in its title, but not without a mixture of old and new (his Catalan *Megalithic Civilisation and the Pyrenaean Culture** was published in 1925). Castillo followed Pericot soon after with his thesis on the Beaker pottery culture (Castillo 1928). This transition is less clear in Obermaier, as his interest lay in the Palaeolithic, a period for which the term culture was never widely used anywhere in Europe and beyond. Also, as his first disciples only finished their training in the mid-1930s, all their production took place after the Spanish Civil War.

Changes in archaeology were also seen in the 1920s with the emergence of offices for archaeological research paid for by local governments. The earliest, preceding all the others, was the Service for Archaeological Investigations of Barcelona (SIA, 1915). It was followed ten years later by

others in Valencia (1927, see chapter 3), and Madrid (1929). These provided alternative sources of funding for archaeological excavations. Other newly-created institutions included the Laboratorio de Etnología y Eusko Folklore (1921) and the Seminario de Prehistoria Ikuska (1921) in the Basque Country and the Seminario de Estudos Galegos (1923) in Galicia. There were new associations that reflected the influence of German scholarship (see below). Among them there were the Spanish (1921) and Catalan (1922) Societies of Anthropology, Ethnography and Prehistory. These associations also brought out new publications: the journals *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans* (1915) in Catalonia, the *Archivo de Prehistoria Levantina* (1928) in the Valencian Country, the *Anuario de Eusko Folklore* in the Basque Country and the *Arquivos* of the Seminary of Galician Studies (1927).

Having lost its status as an imperial power, Spain became a country to be colonised, at least culturally. In clear contrast to Britain, one of the major elements of the archaeology of this period is the contribution made by people from two of the imperial powers, France and Germany. As discussed in the previous section, this had already begun in the second half of the nineteenth century. Some of these foreign scholars, such as the Belgian engineer, Louis Siret, and the artist, George Bonsor were resident in Spain. Then there were those more established in their own countries, such as Joseph Déchelette. A *Bulletin Hispanique* was started in 1898 and had as one of its main strengths the archaeologist Pierre Paris. In its pages a series of scholars from southern universities - Bordeaux, Aix, Toulouse and Montpellier - opposed the power of Paris with their new interest in the Iberian Peninsula. In prehistoric studies the main actor in these efforts was Henri Breuil, who, since its founding in 1910, had been supported by the Institute of Human Palaeontology (Hugo Obermaier, who also worked for the IHP from 1910 to 1914 and may also be included here, despite his German nationality). As far as later prehistory is concerned, Joseph Déchelette's death left the field to Pierre Paris and his École des Hautes Études Hispaniques (EHEH, 1909) at the University of Bordeaux. Despite the fact that the main effort came from French scholars, there were also some from other countries, although their visits were sporadic and did not have much continuity. One of them was the British Museum curator, Edward Thurlow Leeds, who explored Galicia in northwest Spain in order to study the Atlantic megalithic structures (see chapter 6).

Archaeology under dictatorship

This section presents many details about the events that marked the development of prehistoric archaeology in this period, as it is considered important to have a clear framework for the situation in which British archaeologists and their work were received in Spain. To start with, it is important to acknowledge that Spanish archaeology was never a political or cultural priority during the Francoist dictatorship (1936/39-1975). This contrasted with the interest in Roman archaeology in fascist Italy (Torelli 1991) and in prehistoric and Greek archaeology in Nazi Germany (Arnold 2008; Marchand 1996: ch. 10). The Francoist nationalist account sought the origins of the Spanish nation in three major glorious periods: the Reconquest of Muslim-controlled territory by the Christian kingdoms in the Middle Ages; the reign of the Catholic Kings in the late fiftheenth century, period in which Spain had supposedly been unified for the first time and America had been discovered; and finally the height of the Spanish empire in the sixteenth and seventieth centuries. This meant that everything that came before was of secondary importance. Despite this, some archaeologists and scholars of antiquity strove to make archaeology useful to the regime, although they were largely unsuccessful and failed to obtain benefits similar to those achieved by their Italian and German colleagues (Díaz-Andreu 2003).

In response to the new regime, there were changes in the composition of the group of scholars responsible for the study of Spanish prehistory. A few archaeologists were killed during the war[2] and all those with civil servant status (including university lecturers) were made to go through the *depuración* (purge), a process that took until the early 1940s. The consequences of this were deeply felt at certain universities, including Barcelona, where 44% of active lecturers and professors did not return to their post (Gracia Alonso 2001: 17). Significantly, some scholars went into forced or voluntary exile, among them the two founding members of the Spanish Golden Generation, Bosch Gimpera and Obermaier. The power gap created by their departure was largely filled by two opportunists. The first was Martín Almagro Basch, who settled in Barcelona and managed to obtain most of Bosch Gimpera's former posts while Pericot was still being purged (Gracia Alonso 2001: 18-19) and

[2] Two of those killed were the archaeologists Fidel Fuidio and Gonzalo Viñes. In addition to Bosch Gimpera and Obermaier, those who went into exile include Sebastián González García-Paz, Miguel Such and José Miguel Barandiarán, the last of whom returned in 1953.

chapter 3). In any case, Almagro and Pericot became allies and, together with their contacts in Madrid – Blas Taracena (head of the National Archaeological Museum) and Antonio García y Bellido (professor of ancient history) – successfully installed a number of Catalan students in chairs of archaeology, epigraphy and numismatics all over Spain (Juan Maluquer in Salamanca in 1949; Pedro de Palol in Valladolid in 1956; Miguel Tarradell in Valencia in 1956; Francisco Jordá in Salamanca in 1962; and Alberto Balil in Valladolid in 1972). Non-Catalans in this group were Antonio Beltrán in Zaragoza (1949); Antonio Blanco in Seville (1959), and Manuel Pellicer in La Laguna (1972). Despite the titles of their chairs, many focused their research on prehistory, and some in later life even changed to newly created chairs with such a denomination.

The second opportunist was, in Madrid, Santa-Olalla (i.e. Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla), who took over Obermaier's teaching in the so-called (by him) Seminary of Primitive History of the University of Madrid. He was also successful in obtaining positions for his students. He arranged chairs for Julian San Valero (Granada, 1948; Valencia, 1950) and Carlos Alonso del Real (Santiago, 1955) and a position at the Archaeological Institute of the Madrid City Council for Vicente Ruiz Argilés. With the support of his ally and head of all Spanish museums, Joaquín María de Navascués, he arranged positions in museums for his female disciples, Clarisa Millán García de Cáceres, María Luisa Herrera Escudero and Isabel Ceballos-Escalera. It was Santa-Olalla who became the favourite of the regime in the first decade of Francoism. As a Falangist (i.e. a Spanish fascist), he benefited from the strength of this faction in the Francoist regime immediately after the Civil War (Preston 1995: 113). Thus, he became head of the institution that inherited the JSEA's remit, the General Commissariat for Archaeological Excavations (Comisaría General de Excavaciones Arqueológicas, CGEA). The CGEA controlled the permits and funds for archaeological fieldwork. Unfortunately, the increasing deterioration of Santa-Olalla's relationships with other professionals led him to channel funds to himself (10% of the total, with unclear results) and, above all, to non-professionals (Díaz-Andreu 2003: Table 2). This left professional research inadequately financed and in need of alternative sources of funding (mainly provincial governments and foreign sponsors, see below).

Santa-Olalla's fate, however, started to change in 1946. For several years, from the time Germany's fortunes had gone into reverse in World War II, being a Falangist had ceased to be an advantage. Other factions of the

regime, the National Association of Catholic Propagandists (Asociación Católica Nacional de Propagandistas, ACNP) and Opus Dei, were gaining in strength (Smith 2009a: 80-1, 459-460). This benefited Almagro and Pericot as scholars involved in the CSIC, an institution then controlled by Opus Dei (Pasamar Alzuria 1991: passim), as well as Pericot in his role as dean involved in the reforms led by the ACNP member, the Minister of Education, Joaquín Ruiz-Giménez (1951-56). Obermaier died in 1946 and this brought an end to Santa-Olalla's teaching at the university as, officially, he was only covering for Obermaier in the Chair of Primitive History (Historia Primitiva, Obermaier's Spanish translation of *Urgeschichte*). The public competition (*oposición*) to fill in the chair was not held until 1954, when Almagro was the successful candidate.

With Almagro in Madrid, other lines of attack against Santa-Olalla became possible. The first was the CGEA. In 1955, seven professors (L. Pericot, A. García Bellido, A. del Castillo, A. Beltrán, C. de Mergelina, J. Maluquer and M. Almagro) wrote a letter to the Minister of National Education complaining about Santa-Olalla's handling of the CGEA. This led to its abolition only three days later, on 2 December 1955. In its place another institution was created, the National Service of Archaeological Excavations (SNEA, Servicio Nacional de Excavaciones Arqueológicas). The SNEA had a very different operational structure. It abolished the advantage amateurs had previously enjoyed and once again placed professionals in charge of Spanish archaeology. The head of the institution had an advisory body made up of a panel of university professors. The SNEA consisted of an inspector general, who had power over zonal, provincial and local delegations (*delegaciones de zona, provinciales y locales*). The number of zonal delegations coincided with that of university districts in Spain and only professors of archaeology or a related field were entitled to be zonal delegates. The decisions taken by the inspector general, including the awarding of excavation permits, had to be ratified by the Advisory Council for Archaeological Excavations (*Junta Consultiva de Excavaciones Arqueológicas*), which had to meet at least twice a year. The Advisory Council was chaired by the Director General of Fine Arts (i.e. the direct superior of the general inspector of the SNEA), with the general inspector acting as secretary. The rest of the council was mainly made up of delegates from the twelve zones. Other members were added at a later stage (Díaz-Andreu and Ramírez Sánchez 2004). However, before the rebellion could fully succeed, the minister's term in office came to a sudden end and Santa-Olalla was able to remain in his

post for another two years, and many of those involved in the CGEA continued until 1968.

Although Santa-Olalla's fall from grace did not come until the mid 1950s, the other prehistorians had not been idle in increasing their power. One of the obvious ways of doing this was through the institution that replaced the JAE, the Higher Council for Scientific Research (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, CSIC). This was used by many professors throughout Spain to earn an additional salary and have access to alternative funding (Pasamar Alzuria 1991). A network of research institutions was created, some centralised and located in Madrid, but many others elsewhere. As the CSIC was controlled by Opus Dei, a different faction of the regime separate from Falange, it was easy for those opposed to Santa-Olalla to make unsuccessful his attempts to gain access to it (Olmos et al. 1993). Almagro and Pericot, however, greatly benefited from it (see chapter 3), as did their friends in Madrid, mainly the professor of (classical) archaeology, Antonio García Bellido, and probably the director of the National Archaeological Museum, Blas Taracena. For his part, Almagro not only obtained the Chair of Prehistory at the University of Madrid, but also became the head of the CSIC Prehistory Department in Madrid (from 1956) and of the SNEA (i.e. the person who controlled fieldwork permits and the subsidies for them) (1962-1973), as well as director of the National Archaeological Museum (1968-1981) (Pasamar Alzuria and Peiró Martín 2002: 70-72).

At a national level, one of the key events in Spanish archaeology in the Francoist period was the creation of the National Congresses of Archaeology. These were held from 1945, although they were only given that name in 1949. Their secretary was Prof. Antonio Beltrán and Pericot was given the position of permanent vice-president (Rubio and Panera in Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009a: 216). These meetings took place every two years and were supported by the Barcelona-Madrid alliance that excluded Santa-Olalla. He participated in the first one, but stopped attending in 1946, when he unsuccessfully tried to set up an alternative with his CGEA provincial commissaries. One of the unfortunate results of Santa-Olalla's actions in both denying funding to professionals and organising alternative conferences was the damage caused to the relationships between professionals and non-professionals. As he supported the latter group to the detriment of professionals, he fostered a dynamic in which professionals were forced to strengthen their identity and rights as against the non-professionals, a division in which only a few exceptions were

allowed. The gulf created between these groups in Spain contrasts to what was happening in other countries at the time, and in particular in Britain with the creation of the CBA. Nevertheless, the National Congresses of Archaeology had a huge impact as the main meeting place for several generations of (professional) Spanish archaeologists. Parallel to their success, alternatives were promoted by the younger generations. The most successful were the Symposia of Peninsular Prehistory instigated by Maluquer in the late 1950s. His aim was to hold more focused discussions and defiantly, he did not invite the oldest members of the group to the first meeting, although Pericot participated in the second and the third (Pericot 1963b; 1965b).

At an international level, Spain had connections with many countries. Those favoured in the early years of the regime were Italy and Germany (Gracia Alonso 2009). There was indeed a period in the late 1930s and early 1940s in which many, including prehistorians and others, turned their attention either to Roman Hispania (Duplá 1997; 2003; Massó Carballido 2002) or the Migration Period (Gracia Alonso 2008), in some cases working closely with Italian and German archaeologists respectively. However, these extremes were swiftly forgotten in the mid-1940s. Although political parties were forbidden, there were factions, and over the years those supporting the most fascist tendencies gave way to those from the more open-minded ACNP and the Opus Dei factions. This situation further damaged the pro-fascist archaeologist Santa-Olalla and favoured others such as Pericot and the ever-adapting Almagro, who occasionally collaborated with both ACNP and the Opus Dei. One could also see as part of Opus Dei's policy of rapprochement with other Western countries the invitation made to hold the III International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences (Congrès international des sciences préhistoriques et protohistoriques, CISPP) in Spain in 1950. Although on this occasion this invitation was not accepted and the III CISPP was held in Zürich, four years later, in 1954, Spanish archaeologists, and Pericot in particular, succeeded in bringing the following meeting (IV CISPP) to Madrid (see chapter 6).

Other events of an international nature were also organised. One that had started with a very fascistic tone was the International Summer Courses of Ampurias (discussed further in chapter 6). The first course in Ampurias was organised together with the Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, led by the fascist Nino Lamboglia, and a series of institutions in the south of France about which very little is known. There was also international

assistance in alleviating some of the internal problems, such as the lack of funding for archaeological excavations due to Santa-Olalla's stance against his colleagues. Pericot resolved this situation for himself, as well as for many of his Catalan colleagues and students, thanks to the sponsorship he obtained from two main sources in the USA. On the one hand, the Wenner Gren Foundation paid for much of his work in Valencia. On the other, his contacts with the American William L. Bryant Foundation and their representatives Dan E. Woods and Norman A. Doenges provided financial backing for fifteen excavations, including those of the Roman town of Pollentia in Mallorca (1952-1997), the amphitheatre of Tarragona (1965-1967), the Palaipolis of Ampurias (1962-1963), Carteia (1965-1967), and the cemetery of Son Real (1957-62, 1994-97). The foundation also subsidised many publications, including (Trias de Arribas 1967-68).

Foreign archaeologists continued to work in Spain. In Barcelona, a close collaboration was established with the Italian archaeologist Nino Lamboglia, who is credited with having brought the method of stratigraphy (an alternative to Wheeler's method of excavation developed by Lamboglia in 1938) to the excavation of Roman archaeology in Spain, as well as a detailed chronology based on typology of Samian and Campanian pottery (Cortadella in Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009a: 375-6). The destruction during the Civil War of the Casa de Velázquez, i.e. the seat of the French Institute in Madrid, together with the earlier death of the main promoter of French archaeology in Spanish soil, Pierre Paris (1859-1931), resulted in a lessening of the involvement of French archaeologists in the archaeology of Spain. However, Breuil continued to be supported by the Barcelona group, while other French prehistorians established links with the north of Spain. These – André Leroi-Gourhan, Henry de Lumley and François Bordes – came at a later period and established their own independent relations with Spanish archaeologists. A series of young British and Irish archaeologists (Eoin MacWhite, John D. Evans and Hubert Savory) became interested in Spain, but as their connection was mainly with Santa-Olalla, they ultimately failed to establish any long-term links with Spanish archaeology. The country that had greatest impact was Germany, mainly after the (re-)foundation of the German Archaeological Institute (GAI) in Madrid in 1954, although before that date Adolf Schulten and Georg and Vera Leisner had been influential. From the 1950s, other German archaeologists would develop an interest in Spain. They worked under the direction and according to the rules of the GAI and included Edward Sangmeister, Hermanfrid Schubart and Wilhelm Schüle. In the 1960s they

played an important role in the renewal of the excavation techniques used in Spanish archaeology.

Unfortunately, the development of auxiliary archaeological techniques generally stagnated during the three decades after the Civil War. Some influence of the stratigraphic control used in Parpalló by Pericot can be seen in the early 1950s at other sites, such as the excavation of the Cave of Reclau Viver in Seriñá (Corominas 1952), but not many of the technical advances taking place in other European countries were adopted in Spain. This was despite the fact that they were regularly announced by scholars such as Pericot himself. Thus, although radiocarbon chronology was first publicised as early as 1951 (Pericot 1952a; 1956c; Sáez Martín 1951), the first datings were taken in 1959 by Almagro at Los Millares and Pericot seemingly sent one to be sampled a year later (FP- G. J. Armelagos 15-11-1960).

In Spain there was no movement towards a type of rescue archaeology similar to that developed in Britain in the 1970s. Some students graduating in the 1940s and 1950s had benefited from the expansion of universities and museums and, at the end of the period dealt with in this book, there was a key event that transformed the composition of professional archaeology as far as those specialising in prehistory were concerned. This was the so-called Maluquer Plan of 1968, by which the curriculum in history faculties was changed to include prehistory as one of the possible specialisations (something equivalent to Part II of the Cambridge Tripos). This plan, with some modifications, remained in place until 1992. It led to a crucial increase in the number of university prehistory lecturers, as there was a sudden increase in demand. This resulted in the lessening of the previous tight control over who accessed these posts. It also allowed for the entry of prehistorians with Marxist views, something unheard of in the earlier years of the regime. However, Pericot did not live long enough to see the consequences of this.

Contexts: some conclusions

Archaeology historians looking at the development of prehistoric archaeology in Britain have emphasised the formation in the interwar years of a group of scholars who were responsible for the professionalisation of the discipline. Their strong group identity has led modern historians to give them such evocative names as the “Young Turks”, which refers to their conviction that their actions were progressive

and revolutionary (also the origin of another of the names given to them, the "Radicals"), and the "Golden Generation", emphasising their huge influence over those younger than them. However, an examination of developments in other countries such as Spain, also analysed in this chapter, and indeed in many others in Europe (Callmer et al. 2006), uncovers a very similar process taking place in all of them. As the examples of Britain and Spain show, a series of events occurred between the 1920s and the 1970s. In both countries, the teaching of prehistoric archaeology was formalised at the major universities, which became the most influential institutions dealing with prehistoric archaeology, overshadowing museums and societies, the institutions that had previously directed the direction of the discipline. In fact, the Golden Generation did not take long to become key members of the most important learned societies. They also conquered museums through their training of the young appointees that were starting to work in them. Moreover, they controlled the publication of new research and ideas by becoming the editors of newly-born journals, such as *Antiquity* in Britain and *Ampurias* in Spain.

From the mid-1930s to mid-1940s a period of conflict – the Civil War and the first years after it in Spain and World War II in most of Europe, including Britain – signified a break in terms of research and also in the cordiality of international relationships. The consequences were much worse in Spain than in Britain, as in the former the key figures of the Golden Generation had to leave the country. The political disagreements also led to a break between the professional and the non-professional world in Spain, whereas in Britain they were more integrated. Although in general terms the processes that had started in the 1920s continued, with an increase in the number of degrees in prehistoric archaeology being taught at universities, the honeymoon of cooperation was about to end. Once the numbers grew, maintaining the earliest network of professionals became increasingly difficult, and splits emerged among the members of the Golden Generation. These are explained in detail in Chapter 3, when Pericot's biography is unravelled. The analysis of his academic life will lead us to discuss the crisis of the Barcelona School – also called the Catalan School of Archaeology – and how it affected him to the extent that he fell from being considered one of the major figures in the field in the 1950s to being despised as the "parsley of all sauces" from the late 1960s. In the case of Christopher Hawkes,although not subjected to such a strong swing in his fortunes, a previous biographical analysis has shown that a break in his good relationship with Clark in the early 1960s led, in

practical terms, to rivalry between Oxford and Cambridge (Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009b: 17).

The correspondence described in Chapters 4 to 6 allows us to glimpse the practical way in which internationalism supported the developments taking place in each European country. Scholars exchanged information about publications and archaeological debates. They also arranged to meet each other and treated those visiting them from other countries as special guests. On some occasions, the hosts organised the trip and the lectures given during it. On others they arranged the talks and also visits to sites (such as Parpalló) and even exhibitions of an archaeological nature (such as the Spanish rock art exhibition that was held in London in 1960). Scholars also facilitated the study trips of the students of their foreign colleagues. Finally, the sum of the different Golden Generations in each country was behind the creation of a series of international meetings, the CISPP, which substituted others that had been organised by previous generations. They managed to control the executive posts and have a direct command of the international projects organised by the CISPP. However, as Chapter 7 will show, the individuals concerned first made a selection of whom they should contact from the other countries' Golden Generations, with a preference for those working in universities. Secondly, analyses complementing that of the correspondence will indicate that not all players were considered to be on the same level. Ideologies, such as nationalism and imperialism, influenced the degree of the importance given to players depending on the countries they came from.

The oldest members of the Golden Generation began to retire in the late 1950s, whereas the younger members continued in their posts until the early 1970s. By the latter date, their generation had guided the development of the discipline for half a century and the following age group felt that it was time for a change. Developments such as New Archaeology and the appearance of professional field archaeology units were only some of the new trends that appeared in the 1970s that have profoundly changed archaeology over the past four decades.

CHAPTER THREE

INTRODUCING PERICOT

Who was the scholar to whom all the letters analysed in this book were sent? His name has already been mentioned several times in Chapter 2, as it would be difficult to describe the events that took place in Spanish archaeology mainly after the Civil War without it. This section aims to provide an introduction to his life and work, paying particular attention to his life story and his advancement in academia, as well as his contribution to prehistoric studies and his legacy. Finally, his international profile will be analysed, including an overview of his trips abroad and, in particular, those to Britain.

Pericot: the first years

Childhood and student years

Luis Pericot García was born in Gerona (Catalonia, Spain) on 2 September 1899 and died in Barcelona on 12 October 1978. His grandfather had been a furniture maker who had encouraged his son to go to university. Pericot's father took two degrees at the University of Barcelona, a joint degree in physics and chemistry and, after two more years of study, he also graduated as a pharmacist (Fullola i Pericot 2002: 46). After fighting in the Spanish-American Cuban War (1896-98), in 1898 he moved with his wife to Gerona, where Luis and his three younger siblings were born. Their father made sure his children learned languages, something that Luis did not find difficult (Fullola i Pericot pers. comm.28-07-2005). At that time the second language in Spain was French, but he also learned English and German (Díaz-Andreu 1996: 218-9; Pericot 1978a: 26). In January 1915 the family moved to Barcelona, Luis having preceded them three months earlier to start his university degree in history (Pericot 1978a: 26).

Figure 3.1. Luis Pericot dressed in white at the Iberian site of Puig de Castellar (Barcelona). Bosch Gimpera is the first on the left. 1918. Photo: Pericot family archive, Department of Prehistory, Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Barcelona.

Pericot's passion for the prehistoric period began after his encounter with the newly-appointed professor of ancient and medieval history, Bosch Gimpera, on 2 October 1916 (Pericot 1974: 9; Ripoll Perelló 1978: 30). This occurred on what was probably Bosch's first day of teaching. Both were young; Bosch was only eight years Pericot's senior. They became close friends and, despite later events, life-long collaborators, something that more than fifty-seven years of correspondence between them amply demonstrates. As early as June 1917, in the very first letter kept from Bosch's correspondence to Pericot (Gracia Alonso et al. 2002: Letter 1), he referred to Pericot as his friend, and his tone was very forthcoming. This was good for Pericot as, in accordance with the clientelist system, he needed Bosch's support to be able to achieve anything in academia. This system dictated – and still does to a great extent – that entry into academia and promotion within its ranks should not necessarily depend on academic merit, but on loyalty to the wishes of the candidate's patron. Thus, Pericot's first professional years depended a great deal on Bosch (Figs. 3.1 and 3.2) and he was well advised to take his advice. As a result, after graduating in June 1918, Pericot studied for the *doctorado* (the equivalent to a master's course) during the academic year of 1918-19. This was a compulsory course for those who wanted to write a PhD and it was only taught in Madrid. On 15 March 1919, while he was still in Madrid, Bosch alerted him to the official advertisement of an unpaid lectureship at the

University of Barcelona and encouraged him to apply. However, Bosch's youth and lack of alliances within the different institutions (see below) worked against his pupils. Pericot failed to obtain any teaching during the academic year of 1919-20, although he did succeed in 1920-21 (Gracia Alonso et al. 2002: Letters 5, 18).

Figure 3.2. Luis Pericot at the Servei d'Investigacions Arqueológiques (SIA), Barcelona c. 1920. Photo: Pericot family archive, Department of Prehistory, Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Barcelona.

The years between 1920 and 1925 were full of financial uncertainty. In addition to his work as a non-paid lecturer at the University of Barcelona during the academic years of 1920-21 and 1921-22 (Pericot 1950e: 5), he had paid work as a translator of archaeological texts from German (Pericot 1919; 1920; 1921; 1925d; 1926g), French (Pericot 1923e; 1927c; Pericot and Planella 1926), English (Bosch Gimpera and Pericot 1925; Pericot 1924b) and Italian (Pericot 1926f). The entries in the *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* probably also provided him with some income (Pericot 1924a; 1925a; 1925b; 1926a; 1926b; 1926c; 1926d; 1927b; 1928e). He must have felt that his prospects were not good, because at the end of 1922 he was preparing for the examination (*oposición*) to become a history teacher at an *instituto* (secondary school where children studied the bachillerato, the Spanish baccalaureate). However, he was not successful

in this (Pericot 1970: 31, see also comments in Gracia Alonso et al. 2002: letters 28, 29 and 35). Pericot had been right to feel insecure about his academic prospects, as, soon after he had met Bosch, his supervisor had entered into conflict with some influential members of the Catalan intellectual circles, which greatly affected his role in the Catalan Service for Archaeological Research (SIA) (Gracia Alonso and Cortadella 2007). As a consequence of being caught up in the middle of this situation, Pericot's only hope of obtaining a proper academic job was to go outside Catalonia and this is precisely what he did. In 1922, Bosch told him about an advertisement for the chair of Ancient and Medieval History[1] at the University of Santiago de Compostela (Gracia Alonso et al. 2002: letter 28 dated on 24 December 1922). Pericot had to finish his doctoral thesis on "Catalan megaliths and the Pyrenean culture" in the two months before the application deadline. Bosch also advised him to apply for the chair of Archaeology at the University of Valladolid (ibidem). The *oposición* (examination) for the Santiago chair was not held until November 1925 and, following his success, he officially became a professor on 9 December 1925 (Armada Pita 2004: 255)[2]. This was not only a triumph for Pericot, but also for Bosch. The latter was thrilled when soon after another of his disciples, Elias Serra Ráfols, obtained the History of Spain chair at the University of La Laguna in the Canary Islands in 1926 (Gracia Alonso 2002a: 19).

Pericot moved to Santiago de Compostela with his new wife, Teresa Raurich i Maleras (1898-1968). Living in Santiago, however, meant leaving behind the research on Catalan megaliths he had already undertaken. For ten years, he had surveyed mainly his native province of Gerona looking for this type of monument and had published some initial research, both together with Bosch Gimpera (Bosch Gimpera and Pericot 1915-1920a; 1915-1920b) and on his own (Pericot 1921-1926; 1923a). This resulted in his doctoral thesis which he published in 1925 (Pericot 1925c). Given the difficulty of travel between Catalonia and Galicia, it was impossible for him to continue his research in his home region while living in Galicia, a thousand kilometres (c. 650 miles) away. Bosch was excited about the possibilities opened up to Pericot in Galicia, as much remained to be done there, and he encouraged his pupil. As he put it in a

[1] The full name of this chair was remarkable: the Chair of Ancient and Medieval History with Early Modern and Modern History, History of Spain, Numismatics and Palaeography.

[2] This is the date in the "Hoja de Servicios" both of the University of Santiago dated in 1927 and of the University of Barcelona, dated in 1969.

letter: "You have the great occasion of obtaining glory. You are treading on an almost virgin soil… You can be the star of Galician prehistory. Go ahead!" (Gracia Alonso et al. 2002: letter 47, dated on 1-2-1926).

Professor Pericot in Santiago, Valencia and Barcelona

Pericot arrived in Santiago de Compostela (Galicia, northwest Spain) on 8 January 1926 (Armada Pita 2004: 255). Following Bosch's advice, he immediately adapted his research objectives to the area in which he was intending to spend many years of his life. He became involved in the growing debate regarding the connections between Galicia and the British Isles (García Romero 1925; López Cuevillas and Bouza Brey 1929; Maciñeira 1924) (see Armada Pita 2004). His main contribution to Galician archaeology was the excavation he carried out with López Cuevillas of the fort of Troña (1927-30) (Pericot 1930a; 1933a; Pericot and López Cuevillas 1930; Pericot and Parga 1928). He also wrote six articles for the university's journal, the *Boletín de la Universidad de Santiago de Compostela*, all published in 1930. Later in his life he participated in a homage to Cuevillas and also published an article about his memories of their relationship (Pericot 1957a, see also Pericot 1975c: 43).

It was his research on the links between Galicia and the Atlantic world that took Pericot to Britain. Only a few weeks after his arrival in Galicia, he applied for university funding to undertake a study trip abroad with the aim of widening his knowledge on the archaeology of the Atlantic shores, and in particular of rock carvings (Pericot 1965a: 273) (see below and Figure 3.3). Before his first research trip to Britain in 1926-27, Pericot had already crossed the Spanish frontier three times, in 1923, 1924 and 1925. These trips had been mainly to examine megaliths and archaeological collections in France and compare them with those of Catalonia. His fourth trip abroad, from November 1926 to January 1927 (Fig. 3.3: ST4), served Pericot's new research direction well: his aim was to go to those areas with prehistoric connections to Galicia, mainly the British Isles and Brittany. He also included a visit to Paris to study with Breuil (Pericot 1965a: 273) and to Alsace, probably to meet Paul Wernert. He first went to Paris and then crossed to England at some point in December. In Britain he met Thomas Kendrick in London, with whom he began a friendship that would last for many decades (more about this in Chapter 4); he failed to see Miles Burkitt in Cambridge (Chapter 5), but met with E.T. Leeds in Oxford (Chapter 6).

	France	Britain	Germany	Italy	Egypt	Palestine	Turkey	Greece
1923	ST1							
1924	ST2							
1925	ST3							
1926	ST4(1)	ST4(2)						
1927	ST4(3)	ST4(2)						
1928								
1929								
1930								
1931	ST5(1,2)	ST5(3)						
1932		ST5(3)	ST5(4)	ST5(4)				
1933	ST7, C1				ST6	ST6	ST6	ST6
1934	[C2(1)]	C2(2)						
1935								
1936								
1937								
1938								
1939								

Figure 3.3: Pericot's study trips and conferences abroad up to the end of the Civil War: A/ Study trips (ST): ST1: museums and archaeological sites in Narbonne-Beziers, July 1923; ST2: museums and archaeological sites in the south of France, Dec 1924; ST3: archaeological sites of Narbonne, August 1925; ST4(1): museums in Paris, Nov-Dec 1926; ST4(2): museums and archaeological sites in England, Scotland and Ireland, Dec 1926-Jan 1927; ST4(3): museums and archaeological sites in Alsace, Paris and Brittany, January 1927; ST5(1): archaeological sites in the Dordogne, Nov 1931; ST5(2): attending lectures by Breuil, Verneau and Vaufrey at the Institute of Human Palaeontology of France, Nov 1931-Jan 1932; ST5(3): study of materials at the British Museum, Dec 1931; ST5(4): museums and archaeological sites in Germany and Italy, Feb 1932; ST5(5): museums and archaeological sites in SE France, Feb 1932; ST6: Mediterranean study trip cruise; ST7(1): museums of Paris, July 1934. B/ Congress: C1: Participation in the Tournal anniversary, Narbonne, Dec 1933; C2(1): visit to Breuil on his way to the I CISAE; C2(2) I CISAE, London, August 1934.

Despite his initial efforts he did not live in Galicia long enough to make any significant contribution to its archaeology. His stay in Santiago de Compostela was cut short due to personal circumstances and only a year and a half after his arrival he moved to Valencia. A family tragedy (his wife had a stillborn child and seems to have decided that Galicia was not

for her) induced him to apply for a move to Valencia, a university closer to Barcelona (Valencia is only 350 km – about 220 miles – from the Catalan capital), a post he obtained in June 1927. He only stayed in Valencia for the five years until 1933, but it seems significant that, despite living in that city, his two daughters, Teresa (1928) and María Luisa (1931), were born in Barcelona.

Bosch angrily opposed Pericot's decision to leave Galicia. He argued that moving to Valencia as professor of Modern History would be a step backwards in his academic career. To go to a chair of a subject he would not be at all interested in, without the official means to undertake archaeological work, would be a mistake. In Galicia, he was "in a place where there are a thousand things to do and that can give you an international reputation. If you leave now, it will be seen as a desertion" (Gracia Alonso et al. 2002: letter 59). He further suggested that his move would not be understood internationally. He should not worry about his personal problems, as his wife would "make a career" (meaning that she would have more children). To a certain extent Bosch was right, but his opposition did not stop Pericot from applying for and obtaining the Chair of Modern History in Valencia. Bosch did not repeat his thoughts, although Pericot must have been very conscious of them, as he mentioned the matter later in his life (Pericot 1965a: 274; Pericot 1974: 10; Pericot 1975b). In any case, internationally, Pericot's move does not appear to have had the impact predicted by Bosch, perhaps because his international career was still in its infancy and he managed to move to a chair in archaeology before the peak of his international career in the 1950s.

Despite the short time he lived in Valencia, his stay there was crucial for his scientific research. In 1927 he became one of the founding fathers of the Service for Prehistoric Investigations (SIP, Servei d'Investigacions Prehistòriques in Valencian), an institution inspired by the SIA in Catalonia, which became the official institution dealing with archaeology in the Province of Valencia. His involvement in setting up the SIP invested him with a special status in Valencia for the rest of his life. He established a close collaboration and friendship with the SIP's director, Isidro Ballester Tormo. Together they excavated other sites of later chronology, such as Bastida de las Alcusas and San Miguel de Liria. Many of the articles he wrote during these years were published in the SIP's journal, the *Archivo de Prehistoria Levantina*. Crucially, it was during his time in Valencia that Pericot started excavating the Upper Palaeolithic Cave of Parpalló site (1929-31) that would bring him internationally recognition.

This was not a new discovery, as it had already been mentioned in 1893 by Juan Vilanova, a professor of geology and palaeontology. Pericot found out about it through the French archaeologist, Abbé Breuil (Breuil and Obermaier 1914: 251; Pericot 1942b: 9), who became his main mentor in its study. In spite of Ballester's reluctance, he started the excavation in 1929 (Pericot 1965a: 274). A wider discussion of the significance of the Parpalló excavations is provided later in this chapter, so suffice it to explain here that the site contained an extensive stratigraphic sequence of the Upper Palaeolithic of Eastern Spain. It was comparable to that of the Franco-Cantabrian area and included the Solutrean, something that surprised the scholarly world. He also found plaques decorated with a style clearly linked to that of northern Spain (Pericot 1931; 1932; 1933b; 1934b; 1939). Thanks to a JAE grant, Pericot was able to spend three months studying the Parpalló material in Paris during the autumn of 1931, while also attending Breuil's lectures at the IPH (Pericot 1965a: 274-5). Breuil, together with his Scottish companion, Miss Mary Boyle, and a Mlle. Doize, also visited Pericot in Valencia in 1932 (ibidem: 275).

In 1933 the University of Barcelona was renamed the Autonomous University of Barcelona (Gracia Alonso et al. 2010). This change was linked to a plan to transform all the universities in Spain, which was being tried out in Barcelona. Bosch Gimpera, who had been dean of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters (Filosofía y Letras) since 1931, was promoted to the position of vice-chancellor in December 1933. From these positions he managed to create a post for Pericot, albeit to start with not in archaeology but ethnology. Pericot's links to ethnology may explain his involvement in the International Congresses of Ethnological and Anthropological Sciences (CISAE) (see below), as well as his interest in American ethnology (he had written *La América indígena* (Indigenous America) (Pericot 1936)). However, in this case the correspondence is strangely silent about his trip to the London CISAE in 1934. Despite this, years later Pericot included it in his curriculum vitae (Pericot 1950e: 3) and later stated that, together with a certain Ricardo Díez of the Instituto Gallach, he had seen Breuil again on his way to the conference that year (Pericot 1965a: 275). Nevertheless, Pericot would not spend long in a post related to ethnology, as in 1934 he was assigned to one in ancient history (Díaz-Andreu 2003: 64)

Following his return to Barcelona in October 1933, Pericot worked with Bosch at the university, in his role of Secretary of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters, and outside it in setting up the Museu

d'Arqueologia de Catalunya (Museum of Archaeology of Catalonia), running the Servei d'Excavacions de la Generalitat (the official body set up to regulate excavations in the Generalitat, the Autonomous Government of Catalonia established during the Spanish Republic in 1932). Unlike Bosch, Pericot was not imprisoned from the end of October to early December of 1934, when Lluís Companys, the president of the Generalitat, rebelled against the central government and proclaimed a Catalan state within a Spanish Federal Republic. Bosch was detained as the university's vice-chancellor, although he did not belong to the same political party as Companys, who was the leader of Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (Republican Left of Catalonia), whereas Bosch supported a Catalan conservative party, Acció Catalana Republicana. Pericot, however, did not get involved in politics and remained neutral, something that would be extremely helpful to him after the Civil War.

Figure 3.4. Places where Pericot lived (with dates).

The Civil War

Pericot stayed in Barcelona during the Civil War, although his wife and daughters moved to the family village of Torroella de Montgrí in Gerona. Following his neutral stand, he did not commit himself to a political post as Bosch Gimpera did (Bosch became the Conseller de Justicia de la Generalitat, i.e. the Minister for Justice of the Autonomous Government of Catalonia, in June 1937). At the end of the war Bosch had to go into exile to save his life. He first fled to France and from there to Oxford, where he stayed for a year (from March 1939 to July 1940 (Vilanova i Vila-Abadal 1998)). Through Magdalen College, John Myres arranged for him to receive a subsidy from the Society for the Protection of Research and Learning (Cortadella 2003a: lxvi-lxvii). It seems that he had also hoped to become a member of New College (ibidem) and had been promised a permanent fellowship funded by three of the Oxford colleges – All Souls, Merton and Magdalen – although the imminence of war in 1939 put an end to these projects (letter from Bosch to Pi i Sunyer in Vilanova i Vila-Abadal 1998: 50). As he needed to earn a living, he was forced to move on and at the end of June he and his family left for Latin America (1940-41). Under very difficult circumstances he eventually arrived in Mexico City, where he taught for a year at the Colegio de México (Mexican College) and then in the ENAH (Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia, National School of Anthropology and History) (Cortadella 2003a: lxviii-lxix), alternating this with semesters lecturing at the new Faculty of Humanities of Guatemala (Bosch Gimpera 1980: 320-1). In Spain, Bosch was to lose his post at the university in 1939 and his Spanish nationality and possessions in Spain in December 1942, although he recovered some of them in 1954 (Gracia Alonso 2002a: 2). With the exception of the years 1948 to 1952, when was director of the Division of Philosophy and Humanities at UNESCO in Paris, from 1941 to his death in 1974 his main residence was in Mexico.

Bosch was not the only one who did not return to Spain. The other major representative of Spanish prehistoric archaeology in the 1920s and 1930s, Prof. Hugo Obermaier, did not go back either, although in his case it was a voluntary exile. He was at the II CISPP in Oslo when the Civil War broke out and he decided not to return, partly because of health problems. Although he was asked by, among others, the Duke of Alba, to vow fidelity to the Francoist regime at one of a number of ceremonies organised to that effect, he never complied. This, together with the political weight of one of his former students, the Falangist, Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla, hindered his subsequent restitution. After a brief visit to

Madrid in 1939, he renounced his chair there (although a month later, in a move that shows the lack of efficiency of the Spanish bureaucracy at the time, his right to return was confirmed). He accepted a post at the University of Freiburg (Switzerland) in 1939 (Moure Romanillo 1996: 41-44), but his health problems continued until 1946, when he passed away.

Pericot also considered going into exile. After some initial doubts, he joined others on the way to France, but then followed Bosch's advice and did not cross the frontier, deciding to stay in Spain (Pericot 1974: 10). The following months were difficult, as he had to go through the *depuración* (purge) process. On 8 October 1940, he finally found out that he would be allowed to continue in his post (Gracia Alonso 2001: 17).

After the Civil War: Pericot as one of the main players in Spanish archaeology

Pericot and Almagro (1939-1954)

The situation of the Barcelona School after the Civil War changed markedly with the arrival of a non-Catalan, Martín Almagro Basch, in Barcelona. Almagro, who was twelve years younger than Pericot, had been his student in Valencia before moving to Madrid. There, between 1932 and 1934, he had begun his academic career as an assistant to Professor Hugo Obermaier. The onset of the Civil War found him in Germany, from where he returned to join the supporters of the 'National' (i.e. right-wing and soon to be exclusively Francoist) side. In this way, he moved from an alleged communism in his youth to become a member of the Falange during the Civil War (Gracia Alonso and Fullola Pericot 2006: 331). After the end of the war in April 1939, he somehow arranged things so that he did not have to go to the librarian's post in Mahon (Menorca) that he had been awarded in 1935, but had never taken up. Instead, he managed to obtain the posts vacated by the exiled Bosch Gimpera. He became the director of the Archaeological Museum of Barcelona (1939) and the head of the SIA (Provincial Government of Barcelona Service for Archaeological Investigation) (for information on the purges in these two institutions see Gracia Alonso 2002-03). Also, after being appointed to a chair in Santiago de Compostela on 24 October 1940, without apparently ever moving to Galicia, he had his post transferred to Barcelona only a month later to occupy Bosch's professorial position on 28 November (Cortadella 2003b: 252). In the years immediately after the Civil War, from 1940 to 1943, Almagro undertook excavations at Ampurias using

prisoners of war as labour (Gracia Alonso 2002b). He also set up a series of institutes linked to the CSIC, which allowed him to obtain funding for various projects, including the Estación de Estudios Pirenaicos (1947, 1948) and the Instituto de Prehistoria Mediterránea (1949, 1950) (for information on these institutions see Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009a: 355-6). He was also vice-president of the Spanish branch of the International Institute of Ligurian Studies (the president was Pericot) (Lamboglia n.d.).

Figure 3.5. (left) Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla in June 1945. Reproduced with permission of Archivo Museo de San Isidro Los Orígenes de Madrid.

Figure 3.6. (right) Martín Almagro Basch. Reproduced with permission of Martín Almagro Gorbea.

For his part, Pericot's pragmatism allowed him to adapt to Francoism. His good nature helped him get on well with almost everybody – an important social skill in dictatorial regimes that helps to explain the key administrative positions he obtained throughout his career. He became an important member of the political-cultural elite in both Barcelona and Spain. As regards his administrative posts, after the Civil War he continued as Secretary of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters for several years, basically until he was promoted to vice-dean (1952-1954) and dean (1954-57). Politically he was not close to the Falange, but, although he was not a member, he got on well with important members of the Opus Dei faction of the regime. Among these one of the key figures was José

María Albareda Herrera (1902-1966), with whom Pericot was on very good terms. Albareda was the Secretary General and head of the Higher Council of Scientific Research (CSIC)[3], the main Spanish scientific institution. As proof of their cordial relationship we can point to the correspondence between them kept in the Pericot Archive dating from 1944 to 1963 and to the obituary stressing their friendship that Pericot wrote when Albareda died (Pericot 1968b). It has been suggested that he was a member of the ACNdP, the National Association of Catholic Propagandists (Smith 2009a: 80-1))[4], another lay Catholic, pro-reform political force, but no documentation has been found about this. However, he was a good friend of one of the ACNdP members, the Minister of Education, Joaquín Ruiz Giménez Cortés (1951-56). According to Pericot's grandson, Prof. Fullola i Pericot, this was crucial to the compulsory introduction of Prehistory (and also of Ancient History?) as a subject in the History UG degree throughout Spain (Fullola i Pericot pers. comm. 3-7-2002 and Pericot 1975d). That may have led to a significant increase in the number of university chairs in Archaeology, Epigraphy and Numismatics (Díaz-Andreu 2003: Table 3). The opposition to Ruiz Giménez's reform of the universities led to his downfall and to Pericot's resignation as dean in solidarity. Was he a religious man? None of the articles recalling his figure emphasise this. In his publications we find some occasional religious overtones: he mentioned God in some of his articles (Pericot 1955b), emphasised the religious moments at archaeological congresses, such as when Breuil said Mass at the start of the IV CISPP in Madrid in 1954 (Pericot 1965a: 278) and finished an inaugural discourse with a religious remark (Pericot 1963b: xxviii). However, these remarks may be better understood as a way of adapting to the times, rather than as a proof of a deep religious feeling.

As Bosch Gimpera's position had been occupied by Martín Almagro Basch rather than Pericot, in the 1940s the Catalan School of Archaeology

[3] Martínez Santa-Olalla would once write to Pericot that "during my conversation with him [Albareda], I have realised that … you are the one who influences Albareda and the Minister [of National Education?] (FP- 14-6-1951).

[4] Yet, he was extremely unhappy about his daughter's membership in Opus Dei. For several years she lived in one of the Opus Dei houses in London, although this was never directly mentioned in letters to his British correspondents, even when they knew she was in Britain. Bosch Gimpera mentioned her membership of Opus Dei and explained to one of his correspondents, Olivar Bertrand, that after her mother's death she had been allowed to go and live with him in Barcelona (Olivar-Bertrand 1978: 242, dated 2-8-1973).

established by Bosch did not become Pericot's school but, in effect, Almagro's. The latter managed to attract a large group of students, including Juan Maluquer de Motes (who had graduated in 1937 during Bosch Gimpera's time), Miguel Tarradell and Pedro de Palol Sallelas (the last two starting their studies in 1940), Eduardo Ripoll Perelló, Antonio Arribas Palau, Ana María Muñoz Amilibia and others . They provided continuity with the previous period, since they – as well as Pericot – remained in contact with the exiled master (something allowed by Almagro because it seems that Bosch and Almagro were on relatively good terms until 1958, as one can guess from the way Bosch talks about Almagro in his letters to Pericot[5]). After several years lecturing at other Spanish universities, most of the 1940s generation returned to Barcelona as professors of Archaeology (1959, Maluquer), Classical Archaeology (1970, Tarradell) and Palaeochristian Archaeology (1970, Palol) (Gracia Alonso 2002a: 17), whereas Arribas moved back to Catalan-speaking Mallorca (1979, Prehistory). Almagro's key importance in their career development and the good terms on which they had once been with him were not spoken about later in their lives. Pericot was no exception to this (Pericot 1963b).

In 1950, Pericot was at the height of his career. He received a homage on the twenty-fifth anniversary of his university chair, for which his students published a little booklet containing his curriculum vitae, including a list of his publications (Pericot 1950e). His career was not only celebrated in Catalonia, but also in Spain as a whole, as in the same year he was honoured with the *encomienda* of the Order of Alfonso X the Wise for his services to Spanish culture and education (Gracia Alonso et al. 2002: 285) and Ceballos-Escalera pers. comm. 12-4-2006). However, as explained below, the situation was soon to change.

Pericot and the crisis of the Barcelona School (1955-1968)

After Almagro's departure for Madrid, in 1954 Pericot was finally able to move to the Chair of Prehistory at the University of Barcelona, a post he held until his retirement in 1969. However, these were not easy years for him, although it is difficult to find any mention of this in the literature on the Catalan/Barcelona School of Archaeology. In fact, one could argue that the end of the school was very much linked to the schism that

[5] Letters 113, 114, 121, 123, 128, 143, 145, 149, 153, 155, 157, 160, 167 and 168. Some problems are evident from 1954 in Letter 192 and become obvious from 1958 in Letter 206 (Gracia Alonso et al. 2002: passim).

occurred in it after Almagro's departure.[6] The dual kingship formed in Barcelona by Almagro and Pericot did not fully end in 1954, when the former moved to Madrid. Despite having his main residence in Madrid, Almagro's grip on the archaeological world of Barcelona and Ampurias continued to a certain extent, as he had succeeded in keeping his post as museum director in Barcelona, while maintaining his then favourite, Eduardo Ripoll, in charge of the institution. In 1958, a competitive (but seemingly rigged) examination for two posts of keeper was held and won by Almagro's candidates: Ripoll (who had graduated in 1953) and Carlos Cid Priego. Juan Maluquer de Motes (the most senior of them) and Antonio Arribas Palau were beaten in this competition (as well as Ana María Muñoz and Gloria Trías, who had not passed beyond the first round of exams (Gracia Alonso forthcoming)). They were also part of Almagro's group, but both had jobs elsewhere; Maluquer had a chair in Salamanca and Arribas was then working in the museum thanks to an agreed exchange with the museum to which he was actually assigned. When Almagro's post at the museum was transferred to Madrid in 1961, Ripoll was promoted to acting director, although the lawsuit started by Maluquer in 1958 meant that the post remained unconfirmed for several years, until June 1962.The slow pace of the Spanish legal system helped Ripoll's case, as it was ultimately decided that he had held the position for so long that it should finally be ratified (Gracia Alonso 2001: 16-24; Gracia Alonso 2006). Pericot's position was weakened in all this process. As Almagro's ally, he had supported Ripoll, but Maluquer was now his colleague at the university and his plea was also supported by Bosch (Gracia Alonso et al. 2002: letter 206, 11-3-958) (see below).

The schism in the Barcelona School and the difficult position Pericot found himself in can also be seen in his attitude to the creation of two institutes with very similar names. In 1957, a group formed by Pericot, Castillo, Arribas, Ripoll and Pons Guri (Maluquer is not mentioned)

[6] It could be hypothesised that the division in the Barcelona School had already begun in 1939, as, from the end of the Civil War, Bosch Gimpera's disciples began to fight among themselves. Thus, it is clear that the relationship between Serra-Ráfols and Luis Pericot was not ideal. The main crisis referred to in the text, that of 1954, is not even mentioned in the articles on the Catalan School of Archaeology written by some of the main protagonists of the crisis (see, for example, Maluquer de Motes 1981) or in any of the biographies written about those involved (Blázquez 1995: 194). It was only in the late 1980s that the younger generation started to make direct mention of it (Gracia Alonso 2001: 20; Marc-7 et al. 1986: 69).

complained to the Provincial Government of Barcelona about the poor functioning of the SIA. This led to changes, among others to Pericot being the SIA director[7] (Gracia Alonso 2001: 22). In 1961 he resigned and he was replaced in the post by Ripoll. Ripoll changed the name of the institution, calling it the Institute of Prehistory and Archaeology (IPA, Instituto de Prehistoria y Arqueología) which was answerable administratively to the Provincial Government of Barcelona (Diputación de Barcelona). Pericot was made its director in 1959, although he was replaced by Ripoll in 1961 (Gracia Alonso forthcoming). Maluquer set up the Institute of Archaeology and Prehistory (IAP) at the University of Barcelona in 1959 (Maluquer de Motes 1965; Marc-7 et al. 1986: 69). He headed it along with Pericot, who may have been running both the IPA and the SIA (later IAP) at the same time.

Pericot's attempts not to take sides – or to take all sides – led him to try and continue working with both Ripoll and Maluquer. On the one hand, he did not want to break the alliance he had built up with Almagro; thus, they co-edited the journal *Ampurias* from 1959 for two years (Pericot was then replaced by Ripoll). Pericot maintained a seemingly excellent relationship with Ripoll. They continued collaborating in some areas, although they kept apart in others. After helping Ripoll set up the IPA, he continued cooperating with him during the following years. They published a joint article on "Recent Research on the Prehistory of Spain" in the first issue of *Current Anthropology* (Pericot and Ripoll Perelló 1960). They jointly organised the rock art exhibition in London in 1960 and gave talks while in England, appearing to be on good terms (see Chapter 4). Together they organised the Wartenstein Symposium on the Rock Art of Western Mediterranean and Sahara between 28 July and August 1960, a meeting that had been commissioned by Paul Fejos, Research Director of the Viking Fund (later renamed the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research), a non-profit association set up the same year by Axel Wenner-Gren. Pericot and Ripoll edited the symposium proceedings (Pericot and Ripoll Perelló 1964). They both also served as chief editors of the Corpus of Megalithic Monuments published between

[7] Pericot's role in all this was messy and a chapter in his life that both he and others have tried to delete. He did not include his role in the IPA in the bibliographical CV published in the volume on his homage (Pericot 1973). Ripoll wrote that Pericot left the SIA at the end of 1958 (Ripoll Perelló 1979-80). In an interview, Maluquer mentioned Pericot's agreement to the creation of the IAP, but not his role as director (Gracia Alonso 1986). Finally, Pericot soon stopped including his directorship of the IAP in his CVs (Gracia pers. comm. 25-9-2009).

1961 and 1979 (more about this in Chapter 5, in the section about Glyn Daniel) and also of a series of rock art monographs[8]. Moreover, judging by what was being written in the letters, Pericot was on good terms with Ripoll (FP- Burkitt, 25-3-1965; Daniel, 22-6-1967; Osmundsen, 18-2-1969) and he described him as a collaborator in his publications (for example in Pericot 1965a: 277, 278). Although Pericot's involvement in the International Summer Courses of Ampurias had ended in 1960 and Ripoll had replaced him as co-director in 1965, he continued to visit Ripoll at the Ampurias excavations during the following years (Gracia pers. comm. 11-8-2009). Pericot and Ripoll had also jointly excavated at Parpalló and Cueva Ambrosio 1957 (Ripoll Perelló 1979-80: 512-3) and probably again in 1959 (FP- Hallam L. Movius 25-2-1959; WGF 5-6-1959). However, the grant obtained in 1959 was "To aid study of Palaeolithic sites in the east and South Spain" (WGF Project: Grant No. 1138, in FP- WGF 7-12-1959), which seems to indicate that the WGF was also funding their joint excavations at Cueva Ambrosio in southern Spain (although they also received funds from the Provincial Government of Barcelona (Gracia Alonso 2001: 22)).

On the other hand, despite his cooperation with Almagro and Ripoll, Pericot also cherished his role as representative of the old Catalan School of Archaeology and supported all those backed by Bosch Gimpera, including Maluquer. They seemingly continued on good terms, although the collaboration does not appear to have been as strong as that with Ripoll. Both Pericot and Maluquer were directors of the IAP (Maluquer de Motes 1965) (in 1973 Pericot, together with Bosch, were "honoured advisors" (Consellers d'Honor) (Gracia Alonso et al. 2002: letter 270 (29-4-1973)). Also, from 1965 until his retirement in 1969, Pericot transferred his usual collaboration in *Ampurias* to *Pyrenae*, a new journal set up by Maluquer at the university. During those three years he wrote twenty-three articles in *Pyrenae*, mainly reviews, articles about his memories of events that had taken place in Catalan archaeology, and obituaries. Finally, Pericot and Maluquer jointly published a handbook on prehistory (Pericot and Maluquer de Motes 1969).

[8] The rock art monographs were authored exclusively by Ripoll, who also received funding from the WGF to translate most of the published volumes. These were on the post-Palaeolithic rock art of Santolea (Ripoll Perelló 1961; 1967) and La Gasulla (Ripoll Perelló 1963; 1968a); and the Upper Palaeolithic art of Castillo and Las Monedas (Ripoll Perelló 1972).

Homages and Pericot as the "parsley of all sauces" (1968-1978)

Pericot received several homages when he retired in 1969. "I had heard that an homage was being planned… [and that] given Pericot's popularity everybody wanted to organise it, and that in the end it was decided that several journals would dedicate a volume to him", Bosch explained to Beltrán (in Gracia Alonso et al. 2002: note 1282, see also Maluquer de Motes 1969). In 1969, Antonio Beltrán organised a homage at the IX National Congress of Archaeology (Gracia Alonso et al. 2002: Note 1282, Letter 245 (12-4-1969)). He also received another in Valencia (Tarradell 1969). In Barcelona, the *Pyrenae* issues for 1969 and 1970 were dedicated to him and in 1973 Maluquer published another volume under the title of "Studies dedicated to Prof. Dr Pericot" (Maluquer de Motes 1973). An analysis of all the authors who collaborated on these volumes sheds light on the events marking the last decade of Pericot's life. Most of those in *Pyrenae* dealt with scholars and/or topics that Maluquer, rather than Pericot, would have identified with. Bosch was the exception (Bosch Gimpera 1969). His presence may be due to a comment he had made to Pericot about his surprise at learning that a homage was being organised, but that nobody had approached him officially with an invitation to participate; he rightly guessed that the person who had failed to contact him was Maluquer[9] (Gracia Alonso et al. 2002: letter 242, 6-10-1968)).

The homage the IAP organised for Pericot in 1973, also coordinated by Maluquer, was very different to those in *Pyrenae*. Extraordinarily, the issue was written entirely by authors from countries other than Spain. Five British archaeologists participated in it: Grahame Clark, John Waechter, Glyn Daniel, John D. Evans and Hubert Savory; Hawkes had also prepared a draft now in the Hawkes archive that had been accepted for publication (BOD-Hawkes, box 19[10]). Other authors were Hallam L.

[9] Bosch had clearly sided with Maluquer in 1959 (Gracia Alonso et al. 2002: Letter 206 (11-3-1958)) and the lack of letters to Pericot in that year perhaps indicates that he was upset with him, although nothing in the letters of other years points to this conclusion. When communication recommenced, he accepted an invitation to attend the Wartenstein Symposium organised by Pericot and Ripoll (ibidem: Letters 208 (?-1-1960); 209 (5-2-1960). Also, with the exception of 1965, from 1960 Bosch only mentioned Maluquer to complain that he never wrote to him (Gracia Alonso et al. 2002: passim).

[10] There is a letter from 1 June 1971 written by Maluquer and addressed to 'Distinguido Profesor' in the Maluquer file in the Hawkes archive. On the letter Hawkes wrote "Homenaje al Pericot" and below "1st (?) draft 20/9/71: Yes - titles "Bebidas Prehistoricas y Protohistoricas". A handwritten copy of this draft is also

Movius and Walter Taylor from the USA, sixteen French scholars (including Bordes and Sonneville Bordes, Delporte, Guilaine, Lantier, Leroi-Gourhan, Souville, Tixier and Wernert), two from Belgium (Mariën and de Laet) and others from Portugal, Germany, Italy, Canada and Latin America (Argentina, Mexico and Peru). Pericot must have been pleased to have such an array of international scholars writing for him. However, the absence of Spanish and, in particular, Catalan authors allows for another complementary and less positive reading, as it is related to a second phase of the crisis in the Barcelona School.

Although very little has been written about this and the youngest generation of Catalan archaeologists is largely unaware of this today, it seems that the crisis in the Barcelona School that had started with Almagro's departure in 1954 dramatically deepened in the late 1960s. The reason for this lies in the new play of forces that emerged with the establishment of the Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB – Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona) in 1968. At this new university, which, despite its name, was not related to the Barcelona university with an autonomous status (also known in the literature as the Autonomous University of Barcelona), of which Bosch had been vice-chancellor (rector) between 1934 and 1939, Ripoll had managed to become a lecturer in prehistory and also vice-dean of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters. This seems to have led to a deepening of the tensions already present. It may be significant that in 1968 the proceedings of an International Symposium of Rock Art organised by Ripoll two years earlier were published. No Spanish authors were included, except for one of Ripoll's young colleagues at the museum (Miguel Llongueras), despite both Beltrán and Maluquer having participated in the conference (Ripoll Perelló 1968b). The library at the museum (whose books had been bought with funds from the University of Barcelona, something that Bosch Gimpera had organised in 1935) was taken over by the Provincial Government of Barcelona in 1969 and this led to a period of tension. From that time on the antagonism that had been created in 1958 between the Archaeological Museum of Barcelona and the University of Barcelona became a certain degree of ill feeling between the two universities; This was mentioned by Bosch in a letter to his friend Olivar in January 1971 (Olivar-Bertrand 1978: 32).

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in the file, 'begun 21/9/71". A letter written by Maluquer, dated 28 September 1971, appears to accept Hawkes' piece (Colin Harris pers. comm.14-8-2009).

Pericot became vice-president of the CSIC in 1969 and held the post until 1971. During this time he must have spent long periods in Madrid and he seems to have been on good terms with Almagro (the last letter between them is dated in 1974). Although Pericot's residency in Madrid may, up to a point, explain his lack of involvement in Catalan archaeology, the absences and silences are too consistent for this to be the only explanation. Firstly, as regards Ripoll, the lack of involvement precedes his post in the CSIC, as Pericot did not participate in Ripoll's rock art conference in 1966, despite his interest in the subject. However, there is a possible explanation for this: his absence may have been due to family problems, as his wife had suffered a period of serious illness that year (FP- Sol Tax, ?-12-1966). Secondly, Pericot did not take part in the homage to Bosch organised by Ripoll at *Ampurias* XXIX in 1967. Thirdly, despite Pericot's kind words about Ripoll mentioned above (FP- Daniel, 22-6-1967; Osmundsen, 18-2-1969), on 15 October 1970 he hinted in a draft letter to John Dodds (Stanford University) that there were problems. He explained that he had "tried to contact prof. Ripoll but he is now a very important person and I have not been able to get him even by telephon (sic)". Fourthly, Pericot never authored an article in the new journal started by the museum in 1970, *Información Arqueológica*, and this is a clear exception to the pattern of considerable support he usually gave to new publications.

Not only was Pericot in trouble with Ripoll, but also with Maluquer and Bosch. In 1969, his contributions to the journal *Pyrenae* came to an abrupt end after twenty-three articles, obituaries and reviews, all written for the first four issues after it had begun in 1965. It is important to bear in mind that 1969 was also the year Maluquer moved from his chair in archaeology to the chair Pericot had left vacant to become the Professor of Prehistory and that he was the sole editor of *Pyrenae*. Maluquer's distancing from Pericot was also reflected years later, in 1981, when he wrote what could be qualified as a biased history of the Catalan School of Archaeology, he made virtually no mention of Pericot's role after the Civil War and later (Maluquer de Motes 1981). Finally, the ill feeling towards Pericot can also be seen in Bosch. In 1969, Bosch told his friend Rafael Olivar that he knew things about Pericot that hurt him and that he thought that at some point he was going to stop liking him. Bosch further explained to Olivar that he had already had some bad experiences with Pericot many years before, while he was still living in Barcelona. Pericot always tried to be on good terms with everyone, but sometimes he ended up not being liked by anyone (Olivar-Bertrand 1978: 25, letter of 2-12-1969). Olivar Bertrand

was also sceptical about Pericot's good nature. He explained that he would accuse anybody who disagreed with his decisions of bitterness (Olivar-Bertrand 1978: 191). Pericot was also scorned as someone who liked to collect commemorative medals (ibidem: 240), a comment that can be considered as rather unfair, given that it was made when he had received some on the occasion of his retirement. On three occasions Olivar Bertrand described Pericot as the "parsley of all sauces" ("perejil de todas las salsas") (ibidem: 24, 181, 240), meaning that he wanted to be present everywhere, but was only able to do so in a superficial and uncommitted way. Also, in 1973 Pericot organised for Bosch Gimpera to be given the highly prestigious University of Barcelona medal. He organised a ceremony at a rock art conference in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), but Bosch, who was still in exile, refused to be given the medal by the Spanish ambassador. Pericot had to save the situation by withdrawing the ambassador's invitation, but this situation obviously separated the old colleagues even further. It seems that in his final years Pericot did not receive the recognition he deserved, especially given not only the large number of international contacts he had established, which had helped the professional careers of all of those around him, but also the large sums of international funding he had brought to Catalan archaeology. The impression given is that, once Pericot had retired from his university chair, his attempts to be on good terms with everyone in Catalan archaeology had backfired and he became isolated among those who had replaced him as the leading figures in Catalan prehistory. One should not forget that they had been waiting in the wings for a long time. Maluquer was then fifty-four years old, Tarradell forty-nine and Ripoll and Palol forty-six. Pericot was not oblivious to what was happening. It is known that in his final years he complained to his Valencian friend, Domingo Fletcher, about how little attention he was being paid in Catalonia (L. Silgo pers. comm. 25-8-2009). When he died, no archaeological journals published homages to him, a fact that some would explain by saying that this was because those organised for his retirement were too recent. In 1978 two magazines, *Presencia* and the *Revista de Girona*, published in his birthplace of Gerona, organised issues about him. The first entitled the dossier "Pericot, a popular wise man" and on the cover had a photograph of him dancing a Catalan *sardana*. It included articles by his brother, Joan Pericot, the archaeologists Pere de Palol, Narcis Soler, Eduard Ripoll and Miquel Tarradell, and the then young historian and soon to be the first democratically elected mayor of the town of Gerona for many years, Joaquim Nadal. The first three of the aforementioned authors also wrote articles in the *Revista de Girona*.

Thus, the crisis in the Barcelona school had some consequences for Pericot in the short term, as discussed above, and also in the medium and long term, due to of the image of him that has been handed down to subsequent generations. In the same year as Pericot died, the transcriptions of the letters between the founder-hero of the Barcelona School, Bosch Gimpera, and Olivar Bertrand were published. In these Pericot, as has been mentioned above, was described in not very pleasant terms. This obviously damaged his image, as others could see that Bosch had expressed doubts about Pericot and that he had not complained when Olivar had called him the "parsley of all sauces" (see above). Also, one should not forget that Pericot died only three years after the dictator Francisco Franco. This was a difficult period in Spanish history during which the political system changed from dictatorship to democracy and alternative nationalist movements opposed to the centrally-based Spanish nationalism erupted after many years of repression. All those who had collaborated with the previous regime were looked upon with suspicion and this obviously affected Pericot's image. Of all the adjectives still used to describe him, the one that wins in numerical terms is eclectic (Cebrià 1999; Estévez and Vila 1999: 65; Marc-7 et al. 1986: 66).

Pericot the scholar

Pericot's research: Parpalló and other excavations and interests

Pericot's best known international contribution to archaeology was his excavation of Parpalló. As explained above, it was during his years as a professor in Valencia (1927-33), particularly from 1929 to 1931, that he excavated this cave with Upper Palaeolithic layers. It was in connection with his work at Parpalló that he went to Britain for the second time. In between attending lectures by Breuil, Verneau and Vaufrey at the French Institute of Human Palaeontology from November 1931 to January 1932, he took advantage of the Christmas break to go to Britain to inspect the Christy and Sturge collections in the British Museum. After another stay in France, he continued his trip with visits to other collections in Germany, Italy and France (Díaz-Andreu 1996: 219) (see fig. 3.3).[11] He also presented a paper on Parpalló to the I CISPP in 1932, although he did not attend it in the end.

[11] Archive of the Residencia de Estudiantes (Madrid). Letter sent to the JAE by Pericot on 20 January 1932 (Díaz-Andreu 1996: 219).

Before the Civil War Pericot had managed to publish a few articles about his work at Parpalló (Pericot 1931; 1932; 1933b; 1934b; 1939) and a full report appeared in three volumes in 1942 (Pericot 1942b). He demonstrated that the sequence of cultures found in the classical Franco-Cantabrian area was also present in eastern Spain and that the Capsian was not present[12] (in contrast to Obermaier's theories of 1924). Moreover, there were almost six thousand plaques with engravings and paintings dated throughout the whole Upper Palaeolithic sequence (Villaverde Bonilla 1994: Ch. 7). In contrast to Breuil, Pericot suggested that the style appeared to be different to the Levantine style found in open-air shelters and proposed that the Parpalló art had to be from an earlier date. Regarding stone tools, he pointed to the presence at Parpalló of barbed and tanged arrowheads, which he attributed to the Solutrean period, something that was treated with scepticism by other researchers. Many thought that Parpalló may have been contaminated with later strata. However, Pericot was sure this was not the case. The existence of the Solutrean with barbed and tanged arrowheads was verified by Ripoll's excavations at the site of Cueva Ambrosio (Andalusia) and confirmed in 1961 by a team of French archaeologists that included Denise de Sonneville-Bordes and her husband François Bordes (Bordeaux), Henry and Marie-Antoinette de Lumley (Marseille) and Jacques Tixier (Paris) (Ripoll Perelló 1979-80: 512). Pericot also hypothesised that the Solutrean derived from the North African Aterian, but this was contested by Breuil and many others. Breuil argued that the Aterian was a flake-based, Levalloisian industry, whereas the Solutrean was a blade-based stone technology. Therefore Pericot's hypothesis did not hold on technological grounds. By 1960, most authors agreed with Breuil and, with some exceptions (Straus 2001: 96-98), this is still the main opinion today.

Eight years after his main publication on Parpalló, Pericot published an overview of Spanish prehistory, *La España primitiva* (*Primitive Spain**[13]), a book that also became widely known among his non-Spanish colleagues (Pericot 1950c). This work was translated into French (Pericot 1953c), but, despite his efforts, never into English. About the book Hawkes wrote to

[12] The Capsian was an Upper Palaeolithic archaeological culture defined by the French archaeologist and engineer, Jacques de Morgan. In his earliest period as a researcher, Pericot himself had used the term to refer to Levantine art as Capsian art (Pericot 1923b: 17). Obermaier had linked the Lower Capsian to the Aurignacian and had seen Upper Capsian as an independent industry synchronic to Solutrean and Magdalenian (Obermaier 1925: 276).

[13] * indicates that the book title has been translated by the author of this book.

Pericot saying that he always wondered "how it is you are able to write so much, and of such weight and learning, when you must also be loaded with administration, and give so much happy times also to travelling about the world. The answer can be only, that you are a man of great genius; and this indeed I have for a long time known" (FP- 13-7-1950). However, he was not the only one to have written overviews, as his colleague Almagro was also busy producing them (in these years Almagro wrote a synopsis of European prehistory (Almagro Basch 1941) and, co-written with others, bulky volumes on prehistoric Spain (Hernández Pacheco et al. 1947), which he re-wrote with García Bellido in 1952, and again in another format exclusively by himself in Almagro Basch (1960).

After his three volumes on Parpalló and his book *Primitive Spain**, Pericot continued working, although the correspondence discussed in Chapters 4 to 6 shows that nothing achieved the international appeal of those two publications. During the 1940s and 50s, partly thanks to grants from the American Wenner Gren Foundation, Pericot excavated again in the province of Valencia at sites dated in the Upper Palaeolithic and Epipalaeolithic, such as the Cave of Cocina (1941-43 and 1945), Cueva del Agua (1945), Les Mallaetes (1946-49), Cueva de la Marchuquera (1949), Cova Negra (1949) and Barranc Blanc (1951-53). Francisco Jordá is mentioned as someone who collaborated with Pericot on most of them, probably until he moved to Asturias in 1952 (Fortea Pérez 1984: 7). Pericot returned to Parpalló with Ripoll in 1957 and probably again in 1959 (see above), but by then he had started to turn his attention towards the Balearic Islands. In 1970 and 1971 he returned to the Valencian Country, where he had a permit to excavate the Cueva del Volcán, although the work there had been started in 1968 by José Aparicio. It appears, however, that Pericot's daughter, María Luisa, worked with Aparicio, and not Pericot himself (Aparicio pers. comm. 17-8-2009 versus Pericot 1973: XV).

Pericot worked on the archaeology of the Balearic Islands from the mid-1950s on. This was linked to his contacts with the American magnate William Bryant, perhaps as a result of his trip to the USA in 1952. Bryant had already bought a house in the town of Alcudia, near the Roman site of Pollentia, and was keen to sponsor the archaeology on the site. Although Pericot delegated the work to Miguel Tarradell (Doenges 2005: 29), who had been involved in the excavation of Roman Lixus, the large number of letters clearly indicates that he remained one of the main links, if not the most important one, between Mr Bryant and the team working in Pollentia.

His new interest in the archaeology of the Balearic Islands resulted in a series of new publications, including books he wrote providing general overviews of their archaeology (Pericot 1958a; 1972; 1975a).

Very early on, however, Pericot's interests expanded to cover not only the Iberian Peninsula, but also America and Africa. As far as America is concerned, he worked on American ethnology and anthropology, an area in which he published for the first time in the late 1920s (Pericot 1928c; Pericot and Venturino 1930), expanding this topic into a volume in 1936 (Pericot 1936). After the Spanish Civil War, the support of the CSIC Institute of African Studies that funded his trips to that continent led his interest to move beyond Spain to Africa. In addition to a range of minor publications, he wrote a book on the Moroccan Palaeolithic (Pericot 1953b)[14] and the chapters covering the earliest periods in a more general handbook on African prehistory (Pericot and Tarradell 1962). When Morocco suddenly dropped the idea of holding the Pan-African Congress of Archaeology in 1963, Pericot saved the day by organising it in the Canary Islands, something he was able to do as a regular attendant at all its meetings. Surprisingly, despite his lack of major involvement for many years, Pericot also helped to organise the 35th Congress of Americanists in Seville and Barcelona in 1964 (Pericot 1966).

Pericot's disciples

Luis Pericot was an important scholar, but he had few disciples and finding material to write a section on this subject is a challenge. At the beginning of his career, he specialised in the megalithic world and from early on also took an interest in the Upper Palaeolithic, although he touched on many other archaeological periods in his publications. Geographically, he looked towards northern Catalonia, the Valencian Country and the Balearic Islands. He also wrote general books on Spanish prehistory and African and American archaeology. It is within these many and broad interests that we should find students working under his supervision. However, he never had many direct students and the aim of this section is not only to identify those who were or have claimed to be his disciples, but to pin down the reason behind his low number of followers.

[14] Pericot was preceded by Almagro in his interest in Africa (Almagro Basch 1946), but somehow it seems that his colleague soon moved on, whereas Pericot's (minor) involvement in African archaeology continued throughout his life.

He did not spend enough time in Galicia to create a school and the fact that he spent half of his tenure there travelling throughout Western Europe did not help either. After his Galician period, when he moved to Valencia, he was a professor of modern history, which must have put off (if not precluded) potential students interested in archaeology. Moreover, at that time the only place to study for a doctorate was Madrid. Despite this, the literature mentions three scholars as his disciples: Domingo Fletcher, Julian San Valero and Francisco Jordá (Anonymous nd and Cortadella in Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009a: 253). This, however, is not fully accurate. The first of these, Fletcher, undertook his degree during Pericot's time in Valencia and probably excavated under his supervision at the Iron Age settlement of San Miguel de Liria between 1933 and 1936. However, although they got on well and Pericot helped him in his career, Fletcher never considered himself his disciple (L. Silgo pers. comm. 25-8-2009). For his part, Julián San Valero, who had also studied in Valencia under Pericot, wrote his PhD thesis in Madrid under Martínez Santa-Olalla's supervision. Pericot also helped him obtain his first chair in Granada (FP-Martínez Santa-Olalla 9-4-1948; 22-3-1949).

Francisco Jordá, the last of the three usually mentioned as Pericot's disciples, may indeed be considered as such to a certain degree. Jordá had started his university years in Valencia, but in architecture. He changed direction the year Pericot moved to Barcelona. After the war, once he had been released from prison in 1943, he cooperated with the SIP and worked on sites excavated by Pericot in the 1940s, including the caves of Cocina and Negra (Jordá Pardo 2004; Pericot 1973: XIV-XV). In 1954, he read his doctoral thesis on Pericot's pet subject, the Solutrean (Jordá Cerdá 1955), and there is a coincidence in the subjects dealt with (Pericot 1952c; Jordá Cerdá 1967). Indeed, Jordá referred to Pericot as his '*maestro*', indicating, therefore, that he considered himself as his pupil (Jordá Cerdá 1966: note 37; Jordá Cerdá 1980: 277).

It is interesting to note that in 1966 Jordá also included José Alcácer Grau, a qualified schoolteacher and practising archaeologist, as one of Pericot's disciples (Jordá Cerdá 1966: note 37) and in an obituary he extended the list to include San Valero, Fletcher, Maluquer, Tarradell, Palol, Arribas and Ripoll (Jordá Cerdá 1980: 277), something that can only be accurate if we understand the word 'disciple' in its widest sense. In addition to these scholars, one could also refer to a certain Ernesto Jiménez Navarro, identified by Pericot as his disciple (Pericot 1965a: 275). However, although Jiménez Navarro was for a while involved in archaeology (he

excavated at Cueva Ambrosio in the late 1950s), the only publication of his we have been able to trace relates to the modern history of Spain (Jiménez Navarro 1954). In summary, Pericot never had direct disciples, or at least none that eventually became scholars. If there is someone who could be considered a disciple from his time in Valencia, albeit indirectly, it is Francisco Jordá (see also Cebrià 1999: 11; Fortea Pérez 1984: 7).

He may have been more successful in the Balearic Islands, where there was no university at the time. In his publications he occasionally mentioned students he identified as his. Besides the Valencian Jiménez Navarro, he made a reference to Bartolomé Font (Pericot 1965a: 278), someone who worked for some years on the archaeology of Mallorca (Font Obrador 1960; Font Obrador and Mascaró Pasarius 1962a; 1962b; Font Obrador and Rosselló Bordoy 1969), but then moved on to modern history and undertook research supervised by the professor of American History at the University of Barcelona (Font Obrador 1966; 1973; 1982). Another person from the Balearic Islands Pericot must have supported, although outside academia, was José Mascaró Pasarius (Mascaró Pasarius 1967; 1968a; 1968b; 1970). Both Font and Mascaró sent copies of their work to Glyn Daniel, who asked Pericot whether they were his disciples (FP- 7-5-1963). Likewise, Pericot served as an adviser to María Luisa Serra Belabre (Serra Belabre 1965a; 1965b; 1966), for whom it is said that he had great hopes that were cut short by her early death in 1967 (Cebrià 1999: 11). However, her official supervisor was not Pericot, but Alberto del Castillo (Roselló Bordoy pers. comm. 15-11-2009). Finally, Pericot mentioned as one of his disciples Guillermo Roselló Bordoy (Pericot 1975a: 13), who has recently confirmed this, specifying that he had been the last of them (Roselló Bordoy pers. comm. 18-8-2009). In Gerona Pericot was considered the godfather of the province's archaeology and he is considered to have had four unofficial disciples: the amateur archaeologists Luis Esteva Cruañas (once a schoolteacher in Begur), José M. Corominas Planellas, Miguel Oliva and Francisco Riuró Llapart (for whom Serra Rafols is also mentioned) (Narcis Soler Masferrer pers. comm. 2-4-2012).

Pericot did not have disciples in Barcelona. Students interested in pre- and protohistory gathered around Bosch and, after the Civil War, Almagro. As an exercise, it is interesting to see who could have been their disciples. Among those born between 1923 and 1950 and specialising in any sort of archaeology at the University of Barcelona we find Pedro de Palol, Eduardo Ripoll, Gloria Trias, Antonio Arribas and Alberto Balil. With the

exception of Balil, who finished his studies in Zaragoza, the name Almagro always comes up in the biographies written in the recently published Dictionary of the History of Archaeology in Spain (Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009a). One can only understand this as a strategy followed by students, who saw a greater chance of obtaining a job if they had been supervised by Almagro rather than Pericot. Thus, Ripoll, who followed Pericot in the type of subject he specialised in, had already begun to work with the Museum of Archaeology as a student and succeeded Almagro in the post of director in Barcelona, as mentioned earlier in the chapter. Gloria Trias, whose subject – Greek pottery – was related to the title of Pericot's chair at the time she started her PhD research, analysed the finds from the Ampurias excavations under the direction of Almagro. Arribas wrote his PhD on medieval history (1951), but then started to work for Almagro at the museum in 1951. Palol is the only one described as a disciple of both Almagro and Pericot. In the 1940s he worked in Agullana with Almagro and in Gerona with Pericot. However, in 1945 his interest changed from prehistory to the transition between the Roman and the medieval periods, a transformation that took place while he was working on a Palaeochristian site in Gerona. In 1956, he left Catalonia for Castile, where he occupied the Chair of Archaeology at the University of Valladolid, only returning to Barcelona in 1970, a year after Pericot's retirement. Finally, while working in Barcelona, Pericot influenced and assisted the work of three other archaeologists. The first was Luis Esteva Cruañas, an amateur archaeologist also based in the province of Gerona (Cebrià 1999: 12). Secondly, Pericot supported an archaeologist who had become an ethnologist, Augusto Panyella Gómez. Finally, he also helped someone linked to the archaeology of Gerona, Miquel Oliva Prat (ibidem: 11). Oliva Prat, however, was also assisted by Almagro, who was a key figure in his career development (Jordi Casanovas pers. comm. 13-10-2009).

The 1950s and 60s were the decades in which Pericot was most likely to have had students, following Almagro's departure. However, the students who graduated in those years belong to what has been called a "lost generation", as there were no jobs for them to fill, at least in the universities. Most of those who completed their studies during those two decades and who managed to find jobs did so in museums. Ricard Batista, Miquel Llongueras, M. Luisa Pericot, Ana M. Muñoz, Manuel Riu, Ricard Martín and Ana M. Rauret are members of this generation. Despite Almagro's absence from early on, his grip on the museum meant that most of them obtained jobs thanks either to him or to his heir at the museum,

Ripoll. They found jobs in museums – either in Barcelona, at the Archaeological Museum of Barcelona, or in Madrid, at the National Archaeological Museum (Balcells 2004: 242-3). The posts at the university had been filled in the early 1950s and opportunities would only arise for the new generations in the mid-1960s, and in Barcelona in 1968, following the change in the curriculum promoted by Maluquer.

Some of Almagro's students, however, can also be linked to Pericot. Among them, we can mention Tarradell and Ripoll. The former may have owed his posts in the Spanish protectorate of Morocco and the Museum of Tetuan (1948-56) and as a professor in Valencia (1956-70) to Pericot. Pericot's confidence in Tarradell led to him being chosen to carry out the excavations of Pollentia in Mallorca, starting in 1957 under the sponsorship Pericot had obtained from the American Bryant Foundation[15] (Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009a: 705). They published together in the early 1960s (Pericot and Tarradell 1961; 1962) and Pericot wrote for books organised by Tarradell (Pericot 1968c) and supported his application to become a member of the Royal Academy of Letters of Barcelona (Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona) (Pericot 1978b). Tarradell, as we have seen above, organised a homage to Pericot when he retired (Tarradell 1969).

The inclusion of Ripoll as one of Pericot's possible indirect disciples is, however, more problematic than Tarradell's case. Ripoll, as explained above, was Almagro's heir at the Archaeological Museum of Barcelona and in that position he managed to take over Bosch Gimpera's institutional legacy (see above). He also in some ways followed in Pericot's footsteps. From his earlier interest in Upper Palaeolithic cave art (PhD dissertation 1956), he established a long relationship with a scholar who had played a key role in Pericot's formative years, Abbé Breuil. Ripoll, like Pericot, often wrote about Breuil in publications (Ripoll Perelló 1965b; 1994; 2002). He also contacted Bosch Gimpera and wrote about him (Ripoll 1977; Ripoll Perelló 1974-75) and, like Bosch, he went beyond his area of specialisation to publish a book on the archaeology of the Near East (Bosch Gimpera 1927; 1964; Ripoll Perelló 1965a). He became a member of the Permanent Council of the UISPP in 1980 and, like Bosch and Pericot before him, in 1993 he became the third Spaniard to be named a Member of Honour of the Union (Gracia Alonso 2006). However, despite following in Pericot's footsteps, some problems in the late 1960s and early 1970s, which have already been mentioned above, make it more difficult to fully consider him one of Pericot's disciples.

[15] There were other sponsors, such as the Juan March Foundation in 1958.

Pericot and international congresses

Pericot became one of the main ambassadors of Spanish archaeology in the post-war period and a key figure in international relations in the 1950s. He was put in that position after the two main figures before the Spanish Civil War, Bosch Gimpera and Obermaier, had gone into exile and the archaeologist who had been selected to become the president of the International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences (CISPP) in 1950, Blas Taracena, the director of the National Archaeological Museum, died. With Taracena's unexpected death in his mid-fifties in 1951, Pericot found himself the main candidate for the CISPP presidency, a post to which he was elected later that year (see Chapter 6). Given that Madrid is 623 kilometres (c. 390 miles) from Barcelona and road communications between them were far from ideal at the time, organising the IV CISPP meeting could not possibly have been an easy task. The congress was attended by 500 delegates representing 51 countries (Laet 1970: 1432). Pericot received many congratulatory letters about it, but some commentators criticised a certain lack of organisation. During and after his presidency, Pericot was fully involved in the process that led to the conversion of the CISPP into an organism affiliated to UNESCO through the Conseil International de la Philosophie et des Sciences Humaines under the name of UISPP (more on this in Chapter 6). He also continued to fulfil a role in the UISPP through his post on the Executive Committee until 1972 (Pericot 1973: XIV).

The CISPP had not been Pericot's first experience with international congresses. His earliest involvement had been with the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (CISAE) (see Fig. 3.7). Perhaps, as someone who had been hired as an ethnologist in Barcelona (in 1933, a situation that would change soon after, as mentioned above) and who was starting to specialise in the Palaeolithic because of his excavations in Parpalló, he thought that the CISAE was more appropriate for him than the CISPP. Or perhaps Bosch had decided that he and Pericot could join forces and, while he would control the CISPP, Pericot would deal with the CISAE. In any case, at the first meeting in London in 1934 Pericot was selected as a member of the Permanent Council representing Spain (FP- CISAE-2, 21-11-1936). He would never be very active in this association, although he attended the meetings of the Permanent Council in Paris (1958), Namur (1962) and London (1966) (Pericot 1973: XIX). In contrast to his activities with regard to the CISPP, the Pan-African congresses and the Congress of Americanists, he rarely published chronicles

about the CISAE congresses, a clear indication that his heart was not in them.

Year	CISAE Number	Place	Pericot's refs
1934	I	London*	(Pericot 1934b; 1934c)
1938	II	Copenhagen	-
1948	III	Brussels*	(Pericot 1947-48b; 1960b)
1952	IV	Vienna	
1956	V	Philadelphia*	(Pericot 1956b)
1960	VI	Paris*	
1964	VII	Moscow*	
1968	VIII	Tokyo & Kyoto*	
1973	IX	Chicago*	
1978	X	New Delhi	

Figure 3.7.International Congresses of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (CISAE) held during Pericot's lifetime. * indicates congresses attended by Pericot.

Pericot also became a regular delegate at the Pan-African Congresses of Archaeology (see Fig. 3.8), always with the sponsorship of the Spanish Institute of African Studies (Pericot 1962f: 212). He went to all the meetings up to the 1970s, with the exception of the last one, and wrote many notes about them. Also, as organiser of the V Congress, he became president of the organisation for a few years (Gozalbes Cravioto 2006). Pericot had become interested in the archaeology of North Africa because of the parallels he could see between the lithic industry of Parpalló and the Aterian (see above) and the non-existence of the Capsian culture on the Iberian Peninsula.

In addition to the CISPP, the CISAE and the Pan-African Congresses of Archaeology, Pericot also attended three of the Congresses of Americanists (see Fig. 3.9). He had been interested in the archaeology of the American continent since at least 1928 and had attended the XXVI meeting in Seville (Pericot 1973: XIX). His book on *Indigenous America** (Pericot 1936, with a 2nd edition in Pericot 1962a) was still considered important many years later (Alcina Franch 1975: 44). Generally, however, his publications on this subject were very few and of little significance (see Chapter 7). There was at least one written in English and published in *Antiquity* summarising developments in the field (Pericot 1955e). Pericot

also travelled to America frequently[16]. He helped organise the 35th Congress of Americanists in Seville and Barcelona in 1964 (Pericot 1966). Also, together with José Alcina Franch, he organised a first international symposium on possible transatlantic relations during pre-Columbian times (Tenerife-Las Palmas (Canary Islands), December 1970) (Alcina Franch 1975: 32).

Year	No	Name	Place	Pericot's refs
1947	I	PCP	Nairobi*	(Pericot 1947b; 1947-48c)
1952	II	PCP	Algiers*	(Pericot 1952b)
1955	III	PCP	Livingstone*	(Pericot 1955a; 1955b; 1955c; 1956a; 1955d; 1957b)
1959	IV	PCP	Leopoldville*	(Pericot 1959; 1960a)
1963	V	PCP	Rabat	Cancelled
1963	V	PCP	Tenerife*	(Pericot 1963a; 1968a)
1967	VI	PCP & QS	Dakar*	(Pericot 1967a)
1971	VII	PCP & QS	Addis Ababa*	(Pericot 1968a; Pericot 1973: XIX)
1977	VIII	PCP & QS	Nairobi	

Figure 3.8. Pan-African Congresses of Prehistory (from 1967 called the Pan-African Congress of Prehistory and Quaternary Studies) held during Pericot's lifetime. * indicates the conferences attended by Pericot

Pericot's good relations with the Wenner Gren Foundation, which had begun with his contribution to the *Yearbook of Anthropology* (Pericot et al. 1955), led to invitations to several of the meetings and symposia organised at its European headquarters, the castle of Wartenstein in Austria. The first was the meeting held in 1958 (Fejos, P. 22-8-1958, Anonymous 1960), followed a year later by that held to give shape to *Current Anthropology*. That meeting had in fact been preceded by an earlier one in Barcelona for Spanish anthropologists and archaeologists to agree on what the Spanish contribution to the journal would be. In 1960, he attended the symposia on

[16] In his curriculum published in 1973 this list was provided: 1952, United States – Mexico, two months;1953, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, 20 days; 1956, United States, Mexico, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela, two months; 1958,United States, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Mexico, United States, two and a half months; 1960,United States, two and a half months; 1961 Argentina, two weeks; 1962, Mexico, two weeks; 1970, United States, Mexico, United States, two months; 1972,United States, three weeks (Pericot 1973: XX).

"The Social Life of Early Man" organised by Prof. Sherwood L. Washburn (Pericot 1961) and the year after, together with the Italian archaeologist, Alberto-Carlo Blanc, he was asked to organise the symposium on "Prehistoric Art of the Western Mediterranean and the Sahara" (FP-Fejos, 15-12-1959). Blanc's death, however, led to Ripoll's involvement, and this resulted in him also being an editor of the ensuing publication (Pericot and Ripoll Perelló 1964). Pericot also received many grants from the WGF.

Year	No	Place	Pericot's refs
1952	30	Cambridge (United Kingdom)	
1954	31	Sao Paulo (Brazil)	
1956	32	Copenhagen (Denmark)	
1958	33	San José (Costa Rica)	
1960	34	Vienna (Austria)	
1962	35	Mexico City (Mexico)*	
1964	36	Seville and Barcelona (Spain)*	
1966	37	Mar del Plata (Argentina)	(Pericot 1966)
1968	38	Stuttgart-Munich (Germany)	
1970	39	Lima (Peru)	
1972	40	Rome-Genoa (Italy)	
1974	41	Mexico City (Mexico)	
1976	42	Paris (France)	

Figure 3.9. International Congresses of Americanists held during Pericot's lifetime. Source: /www.filosofia.org/ave/001/a051.htm

Other conferences of lesser interest for this book are mentioned in Pericot (1973: XIX-XXI). Of them, only one will be referred to here, the International Congress of Geologists (London, August 1948) (Pericot 1973: XX), about which no trace was found in the analysis of the letters.

Pericot's trips to Britain

This introduction to Pericot cannot fail to finish with an overview of his trips to Britain, as the relationships established during them will be the backbone of the following chapters. Pericot's links with Britain were nourished by a series of trips to that country – fourteen in total – throughout his life (see Fig. 3.10). After his first trip during Christmas

1926-27 to study Atlantic archaeology, he travelled to Britain twice before the start of the Spanish Civil War, once during the Christmas break of 1931-32 and again in August 1934. Having left Galicia and started the excavations at Parpalló, in 1931 he travelled around Western Europe to study collections of a similar chronology, including the Christy and Sturge collections in the British Museum (see above). In August 1934 his trip was linked to a new direction in his life, as he attended the I CISAE soon after having been appointed as lecturer in ethnology at the University of Barcelona (although he had already been assigned a post in ancient history in 1934. During his first three trips to England, Pericot made a few acquaintances in London (Kendrick and Childe), Cambridge (Burkitt) and Oxford (ET Leeds); with the exception of the latter, they were friendships that would last for many years.

After the war, Pericot made eleven trips to the UK. The first, in April 1946, was decisive, as on this occasion he met the emerging group of professional prehistoric archaeologists in Cambridge (Clark, Daniel and Garrod) and renewed his friendship with the scholars he had met some twenty years earlier in London, Childe and Kendrick. As this was his first trip after the publication of Parpalló, he was in demand and gave three lectures – at the universities of Cambridge and Edinburgh and the Society of Antiquaries in London. His second trip after the war was of a different nature. In August 1948, although he tried to see Gertrude Caton Thompson, and perhaps others, on his way to and return from Tervuren (Belgium), where he attended the third meeting of the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (CISAE), in the end he did not see any of his British colleagues. Instead, it seems that he used the occasion to visit his relatives (FP- Francis Judd 8-8-1948, 27-8-1948). The trip in which Pericot was most in demand was his third one after the war, in October 1951, when he had just become the CISPP president. On this occasion he gave lectures in Cambridge and also to the Prehistoric Society in London.

Pericot would never be as much in demand thereafter. In July 1955 he attended a meeting of the CISPP Executive Committee in Oxford, where he obviously met Hawkes. He also saw Childe and Kendrick and probably visited his relatives (FP- C. Jones, C. 15-7-1955). In early 1958 and in 1960 he was seemingly paid by the Spanish Institute in London, a Spanish governmental agency with a similar role to that of the British Council, to give talks at its headquarters. He also lectured at the Institute of Archaeology in 1960, although he did not see many British colleagues.

Another meeting of the CISPP Executive Committee, this time in Dublin, took him again to Britain in July 1961, although there is no evidence that he met anybody. His last four trips took place yearly from 1969 to 1972 and they focused on London and Cambridge, but by then he was treated more like an old glory than an influential scholar (Fig. 3.10).

	1926-1927 Dec-Jan	1931-1932 Dec-Jan	1934 August	1946 April	1948 August	1951 Octobe r	1955 July	1958 Jan	1960 Jan, Feb	1961 July	1969 April	1970 Nov	1971 July	1972 March
Burkitt, M.	no	**yes**	-	-	-	**yes**	no	No	**yes**	no	no	**yes**		
Caton Th	-	-	-	-	no?	**yes**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Childe, V. G.	**Yes**	**yes**	-	**Yes**	-	**yes**	**yes**							
Clark, G.	-	-	-	**Yes**	-	**yes**	-	-	-	-	**yes**	**yes**	-	-
Daniel, G.	-	-	-	**Yes**	-	**yes**	-	-	no	-	**yes**	**yes**	no	no
Garrod, D.	-	-	-	**Yes**	-	no	-	-	-	-				
Hawkes, C.	-	-	-	-	-	**yes?**	**yes**	-	no	-	no	no	-	-
Kendrick, T.	**Yes**	**yes**	-	**Yes**	-	**yes**	**yes?**	**Yes**	-	-	-	-	-	-
Leeds, E.T.	**Yes**	-	-	-	-	-								
Zeuner, F.E	-	-	-	-	-	**yes**								
FINANCED BY	Univ Santiago	Self?	Univ Barc?	CSIC	CSIC	CSIC	CSIC?	IEsp?	IEsp?	CSIC?	IEsp?	CSIC	CSIC ?	CSIC ?
MEETINGS ATTENDED			I CISAE	CP CISAE (Oxford)	_III CISAE (Tervuren)		CE CISPP Oxford)			CE CISPP Dublin)				
LECTURES														
Bristol									L					
Cambridge				L		L					L	2 x L		V
Edinburgh				L										
London				L(SA)		L (PS)		L(IEsp)	L (IA) L(IEsp)		(NO L(IA)) L(IEsp)		V	2x L(IA)

Figure 3.10. Pericot's trips to Britain, people and places he visited (or to which he was invited to visit) and lectures given. – either no letters or no information about the visit found in letters; inv = invited; grey field indicates that the scholar has passed away; L= lecture; V=visit, but no lecture; PS= Prehistoric Society; IA= Institute of Archaeology; SA= Society of Antiquaries; IEsp=Instituto de España

PART II

THE CORRESPONDENCE

CHAPTER FOUR

LONDON

Introduction

In this chapter the surviving correspondence between Pericot and two of the most important archaeologists in London, Thomas Kendrick and Gordon Childe, will be discussed. In addition, the content of the epistolary exchange with less frequent correspondents will also be described and analysed. They include Frederick Zeuner, John D. Evans, Barbara Pell and a series of individuals linked to the two exhibitions of Spanish prehistoric rock art organised in London in 1960. The inclusion of all of them is beyond dispute in a chapter on London, with the only exception of Childe. Although he lived in London from the end of 1921 to 1927, he then moved to Edinburgh and stayed there until 1945, when he returned to London. There is no evidence that Pericot met Childe on his 1926 trip to England and when they finally did meet in 1928 in Barcelona, Childe was already based in Edinburgh. They met again in London in 1932, as well as in 1951 and 1955, and only in 1946 in Edinburgh, where Pericot must have spent just a couple of days. London, therefore, was the place Pericot associated Childe with.

The correspondence sent by all the London correspondents is of a very different nature in terms of content and this perhaps makes the narrative in this chapter more varied than in the others. The comparison between Kendrick and Childe is revealing. Whereas the correspondence with the former is full of anecdotal information, Childe's letters are densely packed with scholarly comments that either refer to specific questions about archaeological matters or are an exchange of information about new discoveries; and some even deal with events related to archaeological institutions (congresses, universities and the like). In fact, they represent the two extremes of all the correspondents discussed in this and the following two chapters. Childe was so fully focused on archaeology – and politics – that there seems to have been little room in his life for anything else. In contrast, Kendrick's attention often seems to have fluctuated, a

trait that appears to have pervaded many aspects of his life, both professional and personal. It is our lack of knowledge about him that makes a study of his correspondence a valuable asset. In Childe's case, the greatest interest lies in the more personal side of the Australian-born archaeologist.

The correspondence discussed in this chapter relates to people working in the two main institutions dealing with archaeology at the time in London, the British Museum and the Institute of Archaeology. As well as Childe, others connected with the Institute who corresponded with Pericot were Frederick Zeuner and John D. Evans, with only nine and four letters respectively, and Barbara Pell (seventeen letters), who graduated from it. The epistolary exchange described in the last section includes missives from several individuals, including a sponsor, Mr Leslie T. Good, and a young man working for the British Museum, Gale Sieveking. The final section of this chapter analyses the academic impact that Pericot's dealings with scholars from London had on the advancement of archaeology.

Thomas D. Kendrick

Out of all the archaeologists dealt with in this book, perhaps the one most poorly treated by posterity is Thomas D. Kendrick. The many changes he made in the direction of his research – from megaliths and antiquarianism to early mediaeval archaeology and, finally, to early modern European religious beliefs – may explain this indifference towards his work. It is always difficult to integrate those who have modified their tastes so dramatically over the years into the history of a discipline. This is mainly because they did not have the time to make a lasting contribution to any of them. Kendrick could have been remembered for his work on the Channel Islands, but left Jacquetta Hawkes to finish it (Kendrick 1932; Hawkes 1939). His name could have been the first and foremost evoked with regard to the excavation and early study of the magnificent Sutton Hoo ship burial. However, he asked one of his subordinates at the time, Rupert Bruce-Mitford, to deal with its study (Bruce-Mitford 1947; 1975-83) (see Palol 1947-48) and consequently only passing mentions are made of his role in the discovery. His figure, therefore, has not stood the test of time and very little has been written about him. His death in 1979 was mentioned by Glyn Daniel in an *Antiquity* editorial (Daniel 1980) and there was also an obituary in *The Times* (23 Nov 1979). Years later, Bruce-Mitford published a good biography of him (Bruce-Mitford 1991), but neither he nor John Brailsford ever finished the biographical book they

once intended to write about him in the 1980s. The notes and letters they compiled, as well as Bruce-Mitford's drafts, are in the British Museum archives waiting for someone to bring their unfinished work to a close. Information about Kendrick is also found in the Dictionary of National Biography (Wilson in Oxford DNB 2004-) and the Dictionary of Art Historians (Dictionary... nd).

Thomas D. Kendrick was born in Handsworth, Birmingham on 1 April 1895. He came from an upper middle class family and was educated at the well-known public school of Charterhouse, later going to Oriels College, Oxford. He fought and was wounded in World War I – something that many suspected had a lasting influence on him, but about which he rarely spoke (Bruce-Mitford 1991: 448). After the war, in 1918 he returned to his studies at Oxford, where he read Chemistry for two terms before changing to the School of Social Anthropology. He received a diploma with distinction in 1919 and graduated BA in anthropology and with an MA in the same subject in 1920 (ibidem). The Oxford anthropologist, Robert R. Marett (1866-1943), who came from Jersey and had excavated the Palaeolithic site of Cotte de St Brelade before the war (Clark 1989: 11), encouraged him to investigate the megaliths of the Channel Islands. This work, while still unpublished, helped his entry into the British Museum in 1922. He would remain at that institution for the rest of his working life, moving from his post as an Assistant in British and Mediaeval Antiquities to an Assistant Keeper (1928), Keeper (1938) and finally Director of the British Museum and Principal Librarian (1950) until his retirement in 1958. In his research life three distinctive periods can be seen: in the first, dated from 1920, he researched prehistoric archaeology and antiquarianism, but in 1928 he changed his focus to early mediaeval archaeology, specialising in the Anglo-Saxon and Viking periods. During these years, in addition to his BM work, he also lectured at the newly-founded Courtauld Institute (Kendrick 1938a: v). In 1949-50 his attention shifted again and now centred on antiquarianism and, linked to this, theology and hagiography. In 1951 he was made a KCB (Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath) and became Sir Thomas (Bruce-Mitford 1991: 445). He died in 1979.

Figure 4.1 Thomas Downing Kendrick. ©The Trustees of the British Museum.

There are very few surviving personal letters written by Sir Thomas D. Kendrick (Bruce-Mitford 1991: 458) and this makes the Pericot Archive a precious source for studying him. In the Pericot Archive there are sixty letters and postcards from him to Pericot, as well as ten from his first wife, Helen[1] (1898/9–1955). In addition, there are eighteen letters written by ten different scholars in which Kendrick is mentioned (a few from Childe, Hawkes, Hemp and the Indian scholar, Paramasivan), and also by Pericot himself (a draft for a letter sent to Paramasivan). These records have an initial minor peak in the 1920s before they diminish and die out; they begin again in 1946 and reach another peak in the 1950s, which is followed by a much longer decline until they finally end in the late 1970s (see Figure 4.2). The discussion in this section will also include documents kept in the BM Department of Prehistory and Europe archives: two letters from Pericot to Kendrick, another addressed to Hawkes and some of the letters compiled by Bruce-Mitford for his unfinished biography of

[1] She is referred to as Ellen Martha Kiek in the *Dictionary of art historians* (Dictionary... nd), but in the letters she signs as Helen.

Kendrick. In total, therefore, this section has been written on the basis of about a hundred documents dating from 1925 to 1980.

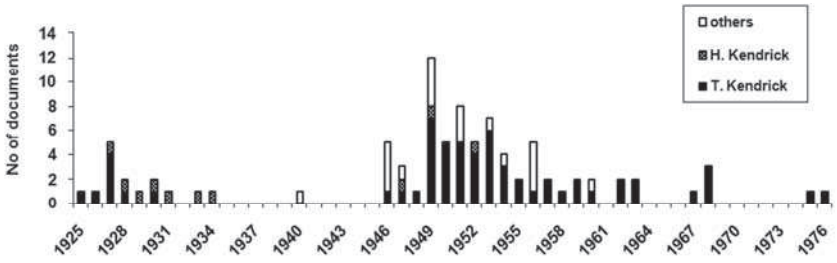

Figure 4.2. Letters in the Pericot Archive from Tom Kendrick (black), Helen Kendrick (bricks) and others (white).

The early years of the Kendrick-Pericot friendship

Blowing soap bubbles and discussing archaeology with an elephant cap on the head

Pericot and Kendrick built a professional friendship at the end of 1926 that would last until their deaths in the late 1970s. Their exchange of letters, however, preceded their friendship, as it had begun in 1925, when Pericot was still living in Barcelona as a poorly-paid lecturer. In that year, Pericot's mentor, Prof. Pedro Bosch Gimpera, had visited Britain and met Kendrick and convinced him to become a member of an association he had recently founded (1922), the Catalan Association of Anthropology, Ethnology and Prehistory (Associació Catalana d'Antropologia, Etnologia i Prehistòria). On 21 May, Bosch sent a letter to Pericot letting him know about this (Gracia Alonso et al. 2002: letter 39). Kendrick sent his letter of application that very same day (FP- 21-5-1925). At that time Kendrick was interested in megaliths and he probably wanted to read what was being produced on the subject by the two Catalan archaeologists, all of which was published in the association's bulletin (Bosch Gimpera and Pericot 1915-1920a; 1915-1920b; Pericot 1921-1926; 1923a). Kendrick published a review of Pericot's 1925 book on 'The Catalan Megalithic Civilisation and the Pyrenean Culture' (Pericot 1925c), describing it as lucid, authoritative, comprehensive and well contextualised with regard to the "adjacent cognate cultures of the Iberian Peninsula and southern France", as well as being well-illustrated. However, he said that in comparison to

E.T. Leeds (1920), Pericot's book lacked debate and speculation. Kendrick also criticised the lack of information about human remains in the megaliths (Kendrick 1926).

Pericot's tenuous professional situation changed dramatically at the end of 1925, following his success in the *oposición* (public examination) to fill the chair of Ancient and Mediaeval History at Santiago de Compostela (Galicia, northwest Spain). He took advantage of funds the university had available for its members to travel to apply to go to France and Britain to study Atlantic rock carvings (Pericot 1965a: 273) (figure 3.3). He visited some museums in Paris and probably met Breuil in November and early December 1926. Then, probably in the second fortnight of December, he crossed the Channel and met several scholars (including E.T. Leeds (Chapter 6) and Wilfrid Hemp) and visited museums and archaeological sites in England, Scotland and Ireland. At Christmas he visited some of his wife's relatives in Britain (FP-Teresa Judd 3-1-1926) and in January 1927 he returned to France and continued his visits in Alsace, Paris and Brittany (Pericot 1965a: 273).

Pericot came well prepared to a meeting with Kendrick, then an assistant keeper of British and Mediaeval Antiquities at the British Museum. Just a few days before he arrived in Britain, Bosch had sent him Kendrick's most recent book, *The Axe Age. A study in British prehistory*. In this book, Kendrick discussed the British Neolithic as a clear break from the previous Palaeolithic/Mesolithic traditions, a rupture that contrasted with the smooth transition to the Bronze Age (Gracia Alonso et al. 2002: letter 53; Kendrick 1925). Perhaps because of Pericot's knowledge of the book and most likely because of a personal affinity (see below), they established an excellent relationship during Pericot's visit. Kendrick, whose temperament was described as jovial, "though subject to quick temper", "lively and [a] racy correspondent, clubbable, and a hospitable host" (Wilson in Oxford DNB 2004-), received Pericot with open arms. While in England during Christmas 1926, Pericot was invited to dinner several times by the Kendricks[2]. A year later, Tom Kendrick remembered these occasions saying that he and his wife "often talk of you – especially at this Christmas time, for it was this time last year that you were with us & we had such happy evenings together" (FP- 15-12-1927). Helen Kendrick also recalled one anecdote: "Do you remember blowing soap bubbles, & discussing

[2] There is evidence of this in an undated invitation from Kendrick to Pericot, whose address, Camden House Court, seems to indicate that it must be dated in 1926-27. The Kendricks moved house a few months after this.

archaeology with an elephant cap on your head?!"(FP- H. Kendrick 11-1-1928).

It was not unusual for the Kendricks to invite people to their house. Years later, Christopher Hawkes, in a letter to John Brailsford, would explain that Tom Kendrick "and Helen, in those early days, much enjoyed entertaining" (BM-[3]12-04-1987)[4]. This was confirmed by Hugh Hencken's letter to Rupert Bruce-Mitford explaining a similar experience to Pericot's:

> I met Tom in 1926 when I was a research student at Cambridge. O.G.S. Crawford had advised me to turn to the archaeology of the Scilly Isles and Cornwall and I later added Devonshire for good measure. Crawford suggested that I go to the old office of British and Mediaeval Antiquities at the British Museum. There I found Reginald Smith who was extremely uninviting! But at the same time I met Tom who made me extremely welcome and gave me a vast amount of material and advice. After that meeting I was often at the Kendrick's house where I was made equally welcome by his wife Helen. They had me to dinner frequently, once or twice I stayed weekends with them. They even gave a large dinner party for my parents when they visited London. (BM– letter from Hencken to Bruce-Mitford, 1-7-1980)

The cordial relationship established between Pericot and Kendrick should not surprise us if we compare their characters and interests. They had much in common. Besides the already mentioned research on megaliths in their early professional years – the focus of Kendrick's BSc and of Pericot's PhD – they were of a similar age (Kendrick was four years Pericot's senior). Both seem to have been compulsive collectors of trivial things such as bus tickets[5] and the like. Also, Kendrick seems to have liked Mediterranean weather and this may have helped him, mainly from the very late 1940s, to become more interested in focusing his attention on Spain and Portugal during his third research period. Finally, both Kendrick and Pericot were fervent football supporters, a subject that, especially following World War II, would appear again and again in Kendrick's

[3] The letters about Kendrick were in a box in which the information gathered by John Bailsford and Rupert Bruce-Mitford for the biography of Kendrick they were planning to write was kept.

[4] Kendrick maintained his friendship with Christopher Hawkes throughout his life. In one of the last letters he would mention that "my last news of you was Christopher Hawkes who reported well of you" (FP- 15-12-1975).

[5] About Kendrick we are told that he "mounted them in a frame in the hall of his official residence" (Wilson in DNB 2004-). Surprisingly, Pericot's collecting passion included travel tickets! (Gracia pers. comm.).

letters (Kendrick even followed the English and Spanish leagues and went to football matches while in Spain! (for example, FP- 14-10-1950)).

Pericot met the Kendricks again three months later, in April 1927. They had sent him a postcard from Germany where they had visited the museums of Hannover, Halle, Berlin and Trier (FP- 30-1-1927). In it, they mentioned their wish to spend the Easter holiday in Catalonia, which they eventually did. The Kendrick family – including their four or five-year-old daughter Frances, whose name is translated into Spanish as Paquita in the letters – spent two weeks from 11 April in San Felíu de Guixols on the Costa Brava. They also paid a brief visit to the archaeological site of Ampurias (FP- 12-5-1927) and went south to Barcelona to visit Pericot and Bosch (FP- H. Kendrick 31-3-1927), a meeting they had already planned in January ("we still hope to be in Catalonia in April & I hope we shall meet there" (FP- 30-1-1927)). Kendrick later thanked Pericot "for your kindness to us in Barcelona. You & Dr Bosch gave us a most happy day" (FP- 12-5-1927). On that occasion, Pericot gave the Kendricks some records with *sardana* tunes, the music for the traditional Catalan dance, which, as a later letter explains, back in London the Kendricks played very often and even tried to dance to them. This helped them remember their holidays (FP- 12-5-1927).

Pericot seems to have valued the intimacy created in these early encounters, as he confided his problems to Kendrick. The correspondence sent by Pericot after April made Kendrick aware that his Catalan colleague was going through a difficult period from a personal point of view. A difficult pregnancy had kept his wife in Barcelona, about 600 miles from Galicia, and Pericot must have sent a postcard to Kendrick expressing his sad feelings after his return from the British Isles. The British archaeologist sent him a letter on 11 February in which he tried to reassure Pericot by saying: "I am sorry you sound so distressed in Santiago, but cheer up - two months will go very quickly & you will soon be back to see your wife in Barcelona" (FP- 11-2-1927). In this situation it seems that Pericot was already thinking of applying to move to Valencia in March, to a vacant chair in Modern History, a move that Bosch opposed (see Chapter 3). In June 1927, Pericot's wife gave birth to a stillborn child. In that same month he left his chair in Santiago and moved to Valencia. He had been in Galicia for just eighteen months. Kendrick wrote to him in December: "I am glad for your sake that you are now in Valencia. You will like that much better than Santiago, although I am sorry you are Professor of Modern History instead of Ancient History & Prehistory, I am sure you

will be happier on the east coast of Spain than you were in Galicia. I am glad to hear that you are still interested in prehistory & are giving lectures on the subject. No doubt you will still do very good work" (FP- 15-12-1927). Pericot stayed in Valencia for six years (1927-33) and during this period his two daughters, Teresa (1928) and María Luisa (1931), were born. Kendrick, again, seemed to be the only one among the British correspondents to have known about it: "the best news is the birth of your daughter. My wife & I send out best congratulations. We are more pleased than we can say and hope that Madame Pericot & the little girl are both very well" (FP- 29-11-1928).

Kendrick and Pericot saw each other at least four and possibly five times after the Christmas holiday of 1926-27 (Fig. 3.10). It seems that until Kendrick's retirement in 1959, Pericot met him every time he went to Britain, except for a visit that took place in August 1948 and perhaps another in 1955. The uncertainty in the numbers only reflects the fact that they did not write directly about their meetings and in some cases the references to these encounters are indirect. It may be possible that they did indeed meet on more occasions, but that no mention of these was made in a letter. After 1927 Kendrick had planned to attend the IV International Congress of Archaeology held in Barcelona in September 1929, but in the end it was decided that a Dr Henry Thomas, the Deputy Keeper for the Department of Printed Books, Maps, Charts and Plans[6], would represent the British Museum (FP- H. Kendrick 3-1-1930). The next time they saw each, therefore, was during Pericot's visit to Britain at Christmas 1931 and in early January 1932. Pericot must have visited the Kendricks at their home, as a couple of years afterwards Kendrick's daughter still remembered the little paper birds he had made for her (FP- H. Kendrick 15-01-1934). During this trip, Pericot inspected the Christy and Sturge collections in the British Museum[7] as part of his continuing work on the Parpalló site. Kendrick's travels to Spain would mainly be in the 1950s. After his first holiday in Spain in 1927, Kendrick's finances seem to have

[6] Helen Kendrick's letter only referred to Mr Thomas, but we have been able to identify him thanks to the British Museum Trustees Minutes of 12 October 1929, where it was reported that he would represent the Trustees at the congress. The reasons for the decision to send someone with such an expertise to represent the British Museum at an International Conference of Archaeology is not explained (Stephanie Clark, Archivist and Records Manager, British Museum pers. comm. 4-11-2009).

[7] Archive of the Residencia de Estudiantes (Madrid). Letter sent to the JAE by Pericot on 20 January 1932 (Díaz-Andreu 1996: 219).

gone through a difficult period due to the expenses incurred in his move to a new house. This lack of money is first mentioned on 15 December 1927, but is repeated in the following years. Nevertheless, he did visit Spain frequently later in his life in connection with his third change of research interest. However, Kendrick's research trips to Spain did not result in meetings with Pericot, with the exception of 1949 and only then because Pericot happened to be in Madrid. This was mainly due to Kendrick's research focus on areas of Spain other than Catalonia, which explains why Barcelona was rarely included in his itinerary.

Despite their increasingly divergent interests, Pericot and Kendrick maintained a very cordial correspondence throughout their lives. This is apparent in the Pericots treating the Kendricks in the same way they treated their English relatives at Christmas, something they did not do with any other foreign professionals in these early years up to the 1940s. In the Catalan branch of the Raurich family (Pericot's in-laws) it was customary to send a typical Spanish Christmas treat, *turrón* (plural: *turrones*), every Christmas to the English side of the family. From Christmas 1927, the Kendricks were added to the list of packets to be sent and, with the exception of the war years[8], this would be repeated every single year from 1927 to 1976. The Kendricks found it "delicious" and praise of its taste was repeated in many letters with sentences like "we are enjoying it immensely & so are all our friends" and "it is extremely good of you to remember us each Christmas & we always enjoy your gift so much". Turrón was eaten on many occasions by others as well: by the children of the British Museum staff at a Christmas party held in the new canteen in 1951 (FP- 13-1-1951), by the Hawkes (FP- 31-12-1951) and by "many people who have been enjoying it at [Kendrick's] Christmas parties" (FP- 1-1-1953). Kendrick's second wife, Katharine, was enthusiastic about it, as he often remarked: "The turrón was an enormous success this year. Katharine ate it nearly all herself, very greedily" (FP- 16-1-1958); "Once again I have to thank you for your most kind gift of turrón, which is now greatly appreciated by Katharine, so much so that I have to fight for my share" (FP- 15-1-1959); "my wife who has become, thanks to you, a most greedy turrón addict" (FP- 29-12-1963); "my wife has developed so strong a liking for your turrón that it is now becoming quite hard for anyone else to obtain even one small mouthful!" (FP- 29-1-1967).

[8] In fact, the lack of news about *turrón* lasts from 1934 to 1945, but the absence of information about this in the late 1930s coincides with a strange drop in the number of letters at this time which is explained in the main text.

The pleasant tone of their correspondence was also maintained in comments about other archaeologists. In his letter of 30 May 1930, Kendrick remarked on the visit to the British Museum of the Galician archaeologist Ramón Sobrino Buhigas (1888-1946), who showed him "really wonderful photographs of the Pontevedra rock carvings". Bosch Gimpera is also mentioned several times. Kendrick explained to Pericot that Reginald Smith had sent Bosch a photograph of the two Beaker pots from Brittany kept in the British Museum to be passed on to Alberto del Castillo (FP- 12-5-1927) and asked Pericot to remind Bosch that he was still awaiting the promised Schulten edition of the *Ora Maritima* by Avienus (Schulten 1922). Bosch was sent greetings in 1931 (FP- H. Kendrick 2-1-1931). Years later, Kendrick's daughter, Frances, who was then working for UNESCO, would visit Mexico City. There, she met Bosch "who is well, & I understand there is some hope of his getting a job in France, in which case we shall see him in the British Museum, I hope" (FP- 9-1-1948). He was referring to the possibility of Bosch's position in UNESCO, which he eventually held from 1948 to 1952. Frances would later see Bosch in Beirut where, as her father explained, "she had a very happy time there; but she has now left UNESCO & has to find another job (FP- 17-1-1949)[9].

From Prehistory to early mediaeval archaeology

Before World War II, Kendrick's letters also provide information about archaeological subjects that can be classified under three overall headings: publications, excavations and congresses. About the latter, some additional

[9] The following reference to Bosch Gimpera is dated fourteen years later, in 1963: "I have just had a marvellous letter from Bosch. He says that as a tribute to senility he permitted his hair to go white, and that he has six and a half grandchildren, the half not having yet decided whether to be a lady or a gentleman. He also says that as a typewriter he has always been a catastrophe! At least he has not got a better machine than the one with which he first wrote to me years and years ago" (FP- 24-11-1963). A few years after he commented: "I had a splendid letter from Bosch also, and again at Christmas. He has given me a lovely lecture on the Spain of the time of the Conde-Duque and its close resemblance to the Hitler regime in Germany" (FP- 29-1-1967). A year later: "I have had several letters lately from Bosch. He has sent me several excellent works on the history of Spain written in Mexico City" (FP- 6-1-1968, very similar information is found in his letter of 31-3-1968). Finally, "I can't say how shocked I was to hear of the death of my dear Bosch. His last letter to me was full of his usual humour & merrily [?] account of the excellent cookery provided in his own home & in those of his daughters - both of whom had made very happy marriages" (FP- 15-12-1975).

information will be provided in Chapter 6 in relation to Kendrick's role as one of the two national secretaries of the International Congress of Pre- and Protohistoric Sciences (CISPP) in 1932. Suffice it to say here that the book he produced together with his colleague Hawkes (Kendrick and Hawkes 1932)[10] became a standard reference for years. As regards his other publications, about which good assessments can be found in Bruce-Mitford (1991), there are several comments. All of the earlier ones refer to the first period of Kendrick's research life dedicated to prehistory. In contrast, none are found about his work on the early mediaeval period, perhaps because Pericot was a prehistorian and Kendrick did not think that his Spanish colleague would be interested in hearing about his new research field. As far as the earlier works are concerned, Kendrick's book *The Druids* (Kendrick 1927) was alluded to by his wife Helen when she apologised for her husband's lack of response to Pericot's previous letter as "he has been very very busy finishing his book on the Druids, & has not had time to do anything but work" (FP- H. Kendrick 31-3-1927). Later on, Kendrick explained that the book had been published and that he would send a copy after Christmas as there were no copies available at that time. He said "The book has sold very well, but has been much attacked as well as praised. Recently I have found so many mistakes in it that I do not like it any longer" (FP- 15-12-1927). Pericot published a review of the book (Pericot 1930b) and Kendrick thanked him for this, saying: "It was very kind of you to send me the Bulletin of the Santiago University with the review of my book. I was very pleased & grateful to read this" (FP- 30-5-1930). A year after the publication of *The Druids*, Kendrick finally published his work on prehistory. In May 1927, he announced to Pericot that "the 1st volume of my work on the Channel Islands will be ready in the winter or in next spring. There will be many pictures of megaliths & of beakers in it" (FP- 12-5-1927, Kendrick 1928).

As explained above, Kendrick did not include any mention of his publications on mediaeval archaeology in his letters before World War II, nor of his book *A History of the Vikings* published in Kendrick (1930), or of any of the many other publications on early mediaeval archaeology he published in the 1930s (Kendrick 1934; 1937a; 1937b; 1937c; 1937d; 1937e; 1938b; 1939), etc). Neither did he mention his lecturing at the Courtauld Institute. Some clues about Kendrick's transition to this second research period, i.e. from prehistoric to early mediaeval archaeology can

[10] This book was based on their extensive articles published in German a year earlier (Hawkes 1931; Kendrick 1931). These articles had been commissioned by the German archaeologist, Gerhard Bersu, for the I CISPP (Bruce-Mitford 1991).

however be gathered from his comments in a letter dated November 1928. In it, he explained to Pericot that they had "had a very pleasant holiday at my excavations in Cornwall. We excavated a large town of the 1st century B.C., though we only cleaned one house" and promised to send the report (FP- 29-11-1928). About this Hugh Hencken explains that:

> After our first few meetings, he and Helen brought up the idea of joining me on a dig in Cornwall to further my research. In this enterprise they were joined by several of their friends. This turned out to be a great success and Tom even helped me get my report published in some archaeological journal though I have forgotten which. Later the Kendricks proposed that we should do another dig together the following year (BM– from Hencken to Bruce-Mitford, 1-7-1980).

Crucially however in the same letter of 29 November 1928, Kendrick mentioned to Pericot that "I have been to Iceland as I am now working on the Viking period. It is a very interesting country, but there is no prehistory!" (FP- 29-11-1928).

With regard to Kendrick's change from prehistoric to early mediaeval archaeology, Bruce-Mitford (1991: 449-450) and subsequently David M. Wilson argue that the rapid changes in prehistoric archaeology in the 1920s with the work of the first professors – Gordon Childe, Grahame Clark and Stuart Piggott – in addition to others, such as O. G. S. Crawford, made him re-think his role in the field to such an extent that he decided to move on to another period. Also, he maintains that Kendrick's change of interest may have influenced the appointment of another prehistorian, Christopher Hawkes, to the BM in September 1928. Another factor, Wilson argues, may have been the realisation of the situation that the retirement of Reginald A. Smith (in 1938) from his post as keeper of the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities was going to create with regard to in-house expertise on the Viking and Anglo-Saxon periods (Wilson 2002: 200; Wilson in Oxford DNB 2004-). In fact, perhaps more than the prediction of the situation in ten years time, it can be argued that the retirement in 1928 of Ormonde Maddock Dalton (1866-1945) (Myres 2004) may have been much more significant. Dalton has been described as "one of the most brilliant scholars to have served in the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities" (Wilson 2002: 200). An Oxonian like Kendrick, he had become Keeper of British and Mediaeval Antiquities in 1921 and had been directly involved in Kendrick's appointment. He had published profusely on early Christian Byzantine antiquities and art (Dalton 1903; 1907; 1911; 1921; 1922a; 1922b; 1923; 1924; 1925a; Dalton 1925b; Dalton 1926; 1927). It was his expertise that Kendrick may

have thought important to substitute and expand, especially given that Smith, in Wilson's words, was "a serious, if pedestrian, student of the Anglo-Saxon and Migration periods" (Wilson 2002: 235), whose main interest was Palaeolithic archaeology. Finally, it is worth remembering that the mood of the times meant that it was not infrequent for prehistorians to move to early mediaeval archaeology. There are many examples of this and that of Kendrick, who, like many intellectuals of his time, increasingly admired German scholarship, is no exception. His pro-German inclinations – and we must not forget that most advanced scholars of his time were pro-German – can be seen not only in the aforementioned visit to Germany in 1927, but also in his status as a corresponding member of the German Archaeological Institute (Kendrick and Hawkes 1932: iii).

Kendrick made important contributions as an early mediaevalist. He produced three books, *A History of the Vikings* (1930), *Anglo-Saxon Art to A.D. 900* (1938a) and *Late Saxon and Viking Art* (1949). In them he encouraged the introduction of the German philological method to British scholarship, critically analysing the written sources to offer alternative interpretations and challenge accepted orthodoxy. Thus, for the Anglo-Saxon period, he challenged the reliability of the accounts in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the writings of such men as Gildas in his *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae* with regard to early settlement history in the British Isles (Green 1963: 16-17)[11] . During these years, he also absorbed the Continental school of art history perspective of style. In this process a part may have been played by the influence of his colleague, Elizabeth Senior, who had studied for a year in Munich, then in the Courtauld Institute and then had been appointed as Assistant Keeper of the Department of Prints and Drawings. Through her, he met Robert Freyhan and Fritz Saxl, members of the German Warburg Institute who had sought refuge in London, bringing the institute with them.

Kendrick's change of interest from prehistory to mediaeval archaeology seems to have been made public only in 1929, although one may wonder how long it had been brewing, for the production of his 400-page book on

[11] Referring to Kendrick's publications, Green highlights the following: "Sir Thomas Kendrick's studies of Anglo-Saxon art are spread through many papers; their substance, with his considered views, are expounded in his *Anglo-Saxon Art to A.D. 900* (London 1938). Of the papers, three must be mentioned here, 'British Hanging-Bowls', *Antiquity*, 6 (1932), 'Polychrome Jewellery in Kent', *Antiquity*, 7 (1933) and 'St. Cuthbert's Pectoral Cross and the Wilton and Ixworth Crosses', in *Antiquaries Journal*, 17 (1937)") (Green 1963: 150-1).

the Vikings in 1930 may have needed longer than just two years. If this was the case, he must have kept it hidden, for the announcement raised surprise. It is revealing to read Hugh Hencken's description of what happened to his relations with Kendrick in 1929:

> When I arrived back from America the following year, I had just married my first wife[,] an American. We dined immediately with the Kendricks. At dinner I was stunned to hear Tom say, without any preamble, "We have decided not to dig this summer, we think the idea has lost its savour". I was shocked and greatly disappointed but he never offered any explanation and I had plenty of work to do on my book about Cornwall, which, incidentally, Tom encouraged me to publish in the series of County Archaeologies[12]. My time in England that summer was cut short by a cable from my father telling me my mother was dying. My wife and I rushed back to the States and Tom's rather curious behaviour faded from my mind. (BM– from Hencken to Bruce-Mitford, 1-7-1980).

In addition to excavations and Kendrick's publications, the letters also contain a few allusions to Pericot's publications. These were less impressive than Kendrick's in this period. When they met in Barcelona in 1927, Pericot gave his British colleague two copies of his article on two Galician beakers (Pericot 1927a), one of which was passed on to Reginald Smith (FP- 12-5-1927). There is a mention of Pericot's promise to send the *Anuario* (FP- 29-11-1928), probably referring to a review of Bosch Gimpera's discussion on the Chalcolithic of Western Europe and its chronology, published in 1930 in the *Anuario de Prehistoria Madrileña* I (and earlier in the *Archivo de Prehistoria Levantina* (Pericot 1928f)). As explained above, Pericot also sent his review of Kendrick's *The Druids* (FP- 30-5-1930). There is no mention of a publication – the book *La labor del Servicio de Investigación Prehistórica y su museo en el pasado año 1931* – that Pericot sent many British scholars, including Kendrick's colleagues George F. Hill and Reginald Smith, after his visit to Britain during Christmas 1931 and early January 1932 (FP- Hill, 5-12-1932; BM, 10-12-1932)[13]. In this book, Pericot had written a short report on his 1931 excavations in the Parpalló Cave (Pericot 1932). Of the six-volume

[12] Kendrick was the general editor of the Methuen series "County Archaeologies". By 1932 the following issues had been published: Middlesex and London (C. E. Vulliamy), Kent (R. F. Jessup), Berkshire (H. J. E. Peake), Somerset (D. P. Dobson), Surrey (D. C. Whimster), Cornwall and Scilly (H. O'N. Hencken) and Yorkshire (F. Elgee) (Kendrick and Hawkes 1932).

[13] Other letters tell us that he had promised it to Childe (FP- 27-4-1932) and in fact dispatched it to the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland (FP- 5-11-1932) and to Miles Burkitt (FP- 8-11-1932).

History of Spain Pericot was editing, he sent the BM the first volume, which he had written himself and which dealt with the 'primitive' and Roman periods (Pericot 1934a). Reginald Smith thanked him for that, although he noted the "absence of the 5 gold objects found in Spain some years ago, like gigantic 'tutuli' of the Danish Bronze Age" (FP- 2-1-1935).

Archaeologists at war: Pericot, Kendrick, Hencken and Kitzinger

The correspondence between Kendrick and Pericot became less frequent in the 1930s and seems to have stopped completely in 1934, only to recommence in 1946 (the last letter before the war was written by Helen Kendrick on 15 January 1934 and communication was resumed by her husband on 5 August 1946). It is difficult to decide whether this relates to an actual break in communication from Kendrick to Pericot or whether there were letters that, because of the political circumstances, Pericot may have disposed of. The first option, that the lack of letters reflects the actual situation and that in these twelve and a half years Pericot and Kendrick did not correspond, is obviously possible. It could be explained not only by Kendrick's change in interests, but also by politics. In the case of Pericot, in this period of his life – just before and during the Spanish Civil War (1936-39) – it would have been difficult for him to remain apolitical, even if he had attempted to do so. Also, during the years leading up to World War II, Kendrick seems to have been politically engaged, actively helping fleeing German refugees. In relation to this, Hugh Hencken explains the effect that this commitment had on their relationship, resulting in its abrupt end. The episode must have taken place at the time of the Harvard Archaeological Expedition to Ireland (1932-36) (O'Sullivan 2003). Hencken describes a dinner at the Kendricks, to which others had also been invited: Hallam L. Movius, Christopher Hawkes and Adolf Mahr. The latter, he explains, was keeper of Irish Antiquities at the National Museum and "leader of the German Nazis in Ireland" (see Mullins 2007). During the dinner Mahr had criticised the German archaeologist Gerhard Bersu on racial grounds, for his Jewishness. Hencken explains:

> Hallam and I thought this sort of talk a silly joke. We never took it seriously. We had not yet learned what this type of criticism really implied so neither of us protested, as we most certainly would have done a little later on. We may even have expressed agreement with him – which now horrifies me. Kendrick said nothing nor did his manner alter. Later, Christopher Hawkes who was also at the dinner, told me that Helen Kendrick was partly Jewish. After that dinner, with no explanation, Kendrick never spoke or had anything to do with me again (BM– from Hencken to Bruce-Mitford, 1-7-1980).

In his biography of Kendrick, Wilson states that "through his many foreign connections he was able to help a number of German refugees during the 1930s" (Wilson in Oxford DNB 2004-). One of them was the young mediaevalist Ernst Kitzinger (1912-2003). Immediately after having completed his PhD thesis in a single year to avoid the ban on Jewish students receiving university degrees, he had left Germany at the end of 1934. He briefly went to Rome and then London, where he started working as a volunteer in the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities in the British Museum. He and Kendrick travelled throughout northern England documenting Anglo-Saxon sculptures (Kitzinger 1936). He earned a living with minor jobs Kendrick facilitated, including writing paid book reviews, preparing an index for five years of issues of the *British Museum Quarterly* and researching the carvings on St. Cuthbert's coffin for publication (Kitzinger 1956). According to his obituary, with these works "Kitzinger brought a Continental perspective to British scholarship of the 1930s, especially to the study of Anglo-Saxon art, which had previously tended to be treated in a somewhat parochial and antiquarian fashion" (Maguire 2003). Although in 1938 he was made Keeper of the British and Mediaeval Antiquities Department, in 1940, as a German, he was forced to leave England and was imprisoned in Australia for nine months. His release was made possible through the Warburg Institute, perhaps thanks to Kendrick. He then fled to the United States, where he spent the rest of his life (Dictionary... nd; Maguire 2003).

A second possible explanation for the lack of letters between Pericot and Kendrick for more than a decade is that Pericot may have disposed of them. There is even a third option: that there were no letters, but that this gap did not correspond to a break of confidence between them. It may also well be that Kendrick's lack of response was related to him being extremely busy during the war period, or even having other personal problems to attend to. On 7 August 1939, five years after Kendrick's last letter before World War II, Bosch Gimpera, then in exile in Britain, wrote to Pericot telling him that many scholars, including Kendrick, Childe and Sir Cyril Fox, had asked about him (Gracia Alonso et al. 2002: letter 100). On 21 March 1940, one year after the end of the Spanish Civil War, Pericot wrote to Christopher Hawkes letting him know that he was fine, back at work and busy trying to write up some publications. This letter, in fact, had been preceded by one from Childe in which he explained to Hawkes that Pericot felt "very much cut off as all the old exchanges have broken down" (BOD-Hawkes, box 7, Childe to Hawkes, 28-2-1940). In his letter, Pericot expressed concern at Kendrick's lack of response to one

of his letters sent some time before and expressed his interested in receiving news from him. Hawkes answered that they had both received his letters but needed to wait until the general situation (i.e. the war) was clearer before they could think about exchanging publications (FP- 17-6-1940).

Kendrick and Pericot after World War II

Renewing their friendship

Almost immediately after World War II, in 1946, Pericot planned a trip to Britain. Childe had told him that the British Museum collections would be made available to him by Kendrick and Hawkes (FP- 20-1-1946). Childe was right. Not only was Pericot able to see the collections, but he also renewed his cordial relationship with Kendrick. He acted as Pericot's main supporter while in Britain, for it was through the British Museum keeper that Childe sent him letters both before and after Pericot's lecture in Edinburgh (FP- Childe 19-4-1946; FP- University of Edinburgh 26-04-1946). Months later, Helen Kendrick told Pericot's wife that it had been "nice to see Dr Pericot" (FP- H. Kendrick 24-1-1947). In September 1946, Kendrick sent a letter to Pericot to which he candidly answered that he was sorry to hear about the rationing in England, but that he "would willingly come back to England. During my stay there this spring I lost 4 Klgrms of weight but this is very convenient for me. So it would be very good for my health to pass half the year in your country. Now we have here plenty of bread (although rationed) but we lack of meat, and life is every day more expensive" (BM- Pericot to Kendrick 10-10-1946). The tone of their amicable relationship seems not to have suffered from the political situation, as, in 1947, Pericot sent the Christmas turrones for his wife's relations living in London through Kendrick to ease export formalities (FP- Frank J. Judd 19-1-1947, FP- H. Kendrick 24-1-1947, FP- T. Kendrick 26-1-1947)[14]. Kendrick seems to have taken Pericot to his private club, the Savile, where he met many of Kendrick's friends "all so fond of the Labour party" (BM- from Pericot to Kendrick 10-10-1946). In this respect, Kendrick's comment a few years later is rather peculiar "we have all had a good Christmas, & now feel strong enough to face the horrors of a General Election" (FP- 10-1-1950) (which was won by a slim majority by Labour).

[14] Kendrick was also asked on other occasions to pass on messages to his English relatives ("I have sent your message to Mr George Jones" (28-10-1949)).

After his visit in 1946, Pericot sent Kendrick copies of his recently published books on his excavations in the cave of Parpalló (see Chapter 3). Kendrick thanked Pericot for the three copies of the Parpalló book, but admitted that he had misplaced the piece of paper on which he had noted who should receive the other two volumes and wondered whether they were for Breuil and Lantier (FP- 5-8-1946). Pericot answered that they should go to Breuil and Peyrony (BM- Pericot to Kendrick 10-10-1946). Little is said about Pericot's publications in later letters. "I look forward to your book" is mentioned twice (FP- 14-10-1950, FP- 24-1-1951), probably referring to Pericot's *Primitive Spain** (1950), and he thanked him for having sent him Schulten's (!) volume in the *Fontes Hispaniae Antiquae* (Schulten and Pericot 1952a) (FP- 4-3-1953). The lack of any other comment shows Kendrick's lack of interest in Pericot's research into prehistoric archaeology. Despite this, in 1950 Kendrick contributed some funds to an homage organised to celebrate the 25th anniversary of Pericot's chair, explaining that both he and Childe were "very pleased that a tribute should be made to your splendid work" (FP- 24-1-1951, see also FP-Childe 14-1-1951, FP- Childe 12-2-1951).

Kendrick and Pericot's divergence of interests can also be seen in the events they attended. Kendrick declined the invitation to participate in the International Summer Course of Ampurias in 1952 (FP- 21-1-1952) and stated that probably neither Rupert Bruce-Mitford nor Alec Tonnochy (two of his colleagues working in the British and Mediaeval Antiquities department of the BM) would be able to make it (FP- 19-3-1952). Kendrick did not attend the IV CISPP in Madrid (1954) either, despite Pericot encouraging him to do so.This time, he mentioned as possibilities Bruce-Mitford and Brailsford (FP- 5-10-1953) and later announced that the latter would be going (FP- 3-3-1954). After the congress he congratulated Pericot "on the great success of the Madrid conference, which has been praised by all my friends who attended, & also on your election to the British Academy, which has given us all great pleasure" (FP- 31-7-1954).

Despite the divergent research paths each of them was taking, Kendrick was pleased every time Pericot visited Britain: "Shall we see you here, I wonder, in what is to be our 'Festival of Britain' year? [about the Festival see Hawkes (1951)] You will find my wife & myself by then living in our British Museum residence, I hope" (FP- 13-1-1951); "I see with pleasure you are lecturing [to the Prehistoric Society] here on October 10th. I hope you will be kind enough to keep one evening free to dine with us in my

house here. We are free any night, so it is really for you to say which evening suits you best" (FP- 24-9-1951), or "Let me know in advance when you are coming to England so that I can be sure to be free" (FP- 17-12-1957); "What could be better news than that you are coming to England! I am delighted" and invited him for dinner at home (FP- 16-1-1958). However, they never met again after Kendrick had moved out of London following his retirement.

Notes about the British Museum and other matters

Kendrick occasionally informed Pericot about events occurring in the British Museum. He laconically announced that "You will be interested to hear I have been appointed Director of this Museum, beginning May 1st. We have to move into a house in the country and my poor wife is a little sad!" (FP- 10-2-1950). He then asked Pericot for advice:

> An International Congress on 'Museums' is being held in London in the week July 17-22. Can you tell me the name of the three or four museum or art gallery colleagues in Spain who would like to be asked, would possibly come, & stand high in reputation? Please treat this request as confidential. I had a good opinion of the worth of the Director of the Art Gallery & Museum in Seville, but I have forgotten his name! It is a 'museum' or 'art-gallery' professional congress, not an archaeological congress, of course; but it is important & will be attended by many countries. (FP- 10-2-1950)

In 1953 Kendrick told Pericot about the bicentenary year of the British Museum, "We are going to have some good exhibitions of books & manuscripts. I hope there is a chance that you will come to England, & visit us here. You know you will always have a very warm welcome" (FP- 1-1-1953). Four years later, Kendrick explained that "We are busy launching a new edition of our *Catalogue of Printed Books*. It is expensive, but we hope it will be quickly produced, which is what people seem to want. The prospectus went out a week or two ago &, so far, the response is very encouraging. I hope we sent particulars to your university library & that there will be some copies sold in Spain" (FP- 11-2-1957).

Kendrick also asked Pericot to help his colleagues or other scholars visiting the BM who were going to travel around Spain. In April 1953 he wrote to Pericot to recommend R. H. Pinder-Wilson, a colleague from the Department of Oriental Antiquities. Pinder-Wilson was going to tour Spain in May and early June in order to study Islamic architecture and antiquities. Kendrick explained that he had already given him letters of

introduction for the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan[15], Walter Starkie (the representative of the British Council in Madrid) and Professor Alfonso Gámir Sandoval in Granada. He would also visit Cordova (Córdoba), Seville [Sevilla] and Barcelona, where he would like to meet Pericot and be introduced to Moorish art experts (FP- 18-4-1953). However, in the end, Pinder-Wilson could not make the time to meet Pericot (FP- Pinder Wilson 5-6-1953). Two years later Kendrick sent a letter to Pericot to introduce his "friend Dr. S. Paramasivan, Government Chemist of the Archaeological Survey of India, who has been working with us for some time in the British Museum. He is going to be in Barcelona in the first week in January and would be very glad to meet you in order to discuss the enquiries he wants to make, particularly in connection with the treatment and preservation of frescos" (FP- 10-11-1955, see also FP- Paramasivan 9-1-1956). Pericot, as usual, was very useful helping the Indian scholar find accommodation, inviting him to his house for lunch and giving him directions as to where to go and who to speak to (FP- Pericot to Paramasivan 13-1-1956).

Reconstruction work in the British Museum is first mentioned in 1957, "We are getting a little more building done here & there is a slow improvement; but it is painfully slow" (FP- 11-2-1957). The date seems to confirm Wilson's assessment that he "had not got the strength to carry the Treasury with him in the reconstruction of a much war-torn museum building, particularly at the time of economic cuts in the early 1950s" (Wilson in Oxford DNB 2004-). In his letter of 1957 Kendrick also mentioned that "'British Antiquities' has now a very good staff, all young men, & is working hard. Sieveking from the Perak Museum, Malaya, is the latest recruit" (FP- 11-2-1957). Months later he stated that "The Museum is still gradually recovering. We had a magnificent party the other night attended by the Queen & the Duke of Edinburgh. The royal supper-room had a table with the Royal Gold Cup & the whole of the Mildenhall Treasure on it. I think everybody enjoyed themselves. It was in celebration of the gift of the Old Royal Library by George II, & the Queen

[15] The Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan had been founded in 1916. Its headquarters were in Madrid. It has a large collection of coins, decorative arts and Islamic antiquities. The Instituto Valencia de Don Juan was linked in its first period (1916) to the University of Oxford, where its founder, Guillermo Joaquín de Osma y Scull (1853-1922), had gained a Magister Artium. Its founding document stipulated that if the management of the institution did not follow the statutes he had drafted, the collections would pass to the University of Oxford (MEDJ in Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009a: 355).

announced that night that she had present [?] the Royal Music Library to the British Museum, so it was a great evening for us" (FP- 17-12-1957).

In Kendrick's letters there is also information about more personal matters. A cold and rainy Christmas holiday in Greece and Rome (FP- 13-1-1951) and another in Torquay (FP- 11-2-1957) are mentioned; there are also brief comments about Helen Kendrick's illness (FP- 24-9-1951) and death (FP- 1-3-1956), as well as his marriage to Katharine Elizabeth Wrigley (FP- 17-12-1957) and their honeymoon in Spain (FP- 17-12-1957). In 1959 Kendrick explained that he was retiring and that they were temporarily moving to a small cottage in Sussex, but that he could receive letters sent to the Athenaeum Club (FP- 15-1-1959). Very soon they moved to their final residence in Dorset (FP- 19-12-1960). Weather, gardening and the general situation in England became themes that occupied most of his letters in this period of his life, but, as will be explained below, he also included details of his research and his publications until his very last letter. Kendrick's missives gave also some glimpses into Pericot's personal life: his speech about Pelota (sic, football?) on his 50th birthday, the photo of which "is now hanging on our [British Museum] notice-board much admired" (FP- 30-1-1949), the birth of his grandson (FP- 5-10-1953), some problems with currency to finance his trip to Barcelona that Pericot has tried to resolve in England (FP- 12-7-1955), and the death of Pericot's wife (FP- 1-4-1968).

From early mediaeval archaeology to earthquakes and the life of saints

Kendrick only maintained his interest in early mediaeval archaeology for about three years after the end of World War II, until 1948. He announced to Pericot that he had sent him his "new 'Mildenhall' publication which I hope will reach you safely" (FP- 9-1-1948), perhaps referring to a book published anonymously the previous year (Anonymous 1947), whose author is identified, perhaps wrongly, as John Brailsford (Ashbee 1997: 74). A year later he complained that "the more one has to do with administrative work in antiquarian studies, the more difficult it is to get really free!" Despite this, he then added that he had been able to "to finish my two books for publication this year (the Anglo-Saxon Art. II & the 'British Antiquity' book about 16th century antiquarians)" (FP- 17-1-1949) (Kendrick 1949; 1950). In the letters there is no mention of the excavation, study and exhibition of Sutton Hoo, the great seventh-century ship burial – perhaps Kendrick's 'greatest excitement' as keeper (Wilson in Oxford DNB 2004-). This silence is probably due to the timing of its

discovery, for it coincided with the gap in letters between 1934 and 1946. When communication was re-established, Kendrick had already moved on. Bruce-Mitford (1991: 462) notes that Kendrick's *Late Saxon and Viking Art* (1949) had already been published at a time when his interest in mediaeval archaeology had begun to wane. Despite this, he had some later engagements related to his earlier interest in northern European mediaeval archaeology. In 1953 he mentioned to Pericot that he had "just been to Stockholm for the Bicentenary of the Academy, and I saw most of our northern friends, all looking very grand in top hats and covered with medals and ribbons" (FP- 18-4-1953).

From the late 1940s, just before he was appointed director of the British Museum, his attention turned from early mediaeval archaeology towards theology, hagiography, the history of ideas and human credulity. This, to a certain extent, surprising twist was not perhaps totally unanticipated, as his concern with religion was not completely new. It can be traced as far back as 1927 in his book *The Druids* (Kendrick 1927: viii). However, unlike then, it now absorbed him to the extent that he practically lost interest in archaeology. In 1957 he explained to Pericot that he saw "Christopher Hawkes occasionally, but I am now almost entirely cut off from our old world of antiquaries" (FP- 11-2-1957). Kendrick himself explained how this new transformation in research focus had taken place, although it is argued here that his recollection was not fully correct. As he put it: "In 1946, when I was collecting material for a book about attitudes of credulity and incredulity in various countries of Europe towards ancient accounts of their origins, my interests were suddenly altered by reading Don José [Godoy] Alcántara's *Historia Crítica de los Falsos Cronicones* [*Critical History of the False Chronicles**], published in Madrid in 1868" (Kendrick 1960: 11). He was probably talking about the time when he was writing his book on *British Antiquity*, in which he studied antiquarian thought in Britain (Kendrick 1950: vii), that, as seen above, he had already finished in January 1949 (FP- 17-1-1949). The connection between his work on antiquarianism and his later interest in theology can be seen in one of his comments in the same letter. Kendrick explained that he found it strange that no Spanish writer had discussed the influence of the discovery of the American Indian on antiquarian thought, in a similar way that the French-born Princeton professor, Gilbert Chinard (1881-1972), had done (ibidem). Importantly, in the same letter Kendrick indicated that he wished to go to Spain soon, stating that he was reading about the history of sixteenth-century Spain and asked Pericot to find out the price for a history of sixteenth-century Spanish philosophy published a few

years earlier [(Solana 1941)] ("it sounds very expensive, & perhaps I should not want it") (FP- 17-1-1949). Significantly, it was only after his visit to Spain in late September and October 1949 (the first since his 1927 holiday) that he requested Pericot to purchase Godoy Alcántara's book for him: "If there is any bookseller who can supply this & you would be kind enough to buy it for me, I would send you one of our new books in exchange" (FP- 30-11-1949). Although a connection would be very difficult to establish here, it may be worth pointing out that Pericot and Kendrick must have seen each other in April 1946, when the former was invited by the Society of Antiquaries to give a talk (FP- Childe 14-3-1946). Although this meeting is not mentioned in the correspondence (indeed, the only – and ambiguous – available evidence is that the letters only resumed in August 1946, after twelve and a half years with no correspondence), Kendrick's position as the secretary of the institution (1940-1950) (Bruce-Mitford 1991: 460; Wilson 2004) must have required his presence at Pericot's lecture. There is a possibility, therefore, that a discussion held at that time between them may have sparked Kendrick's curiosity about issues related to the Iberian Peninsula. However, no confirmation of this possibility is found in the letters.

Kendrick's visits to Spain and Portugal

From 1949 to 1964 Kendrick travelled to the Iberian Peninsula at least ten times (Figs. 4.3 and 4.4). By 1955 he had already undertaken six research trips. These were followed by a trip to Lisbon, where he had been invited to give a talk about the BM in 1956, his honeymoon after his marriage to Katharine in 1957, another research trip in 1958, possibly also a holiday in Alicante in 1959 and a final research trip in 1964. Research on Iberian topics was not again a focus of a trip until 1964 (Fig. 4.5). As his research was not centred on Catalonia, he never went back to Barcelona, something he often remarked on with comments such as "to my very great regret I shall not be able to see you in Barcelona this time" (FP- 30-8-1949); "I hope you have seen the Hemps. I envy them very much the pleasure of seeing you in Barcelona" (FP- 10-1-1950); "I do not think this time I shall be able to come to Barcelona" (FP- 3-7-1950); "I am once again going to perform my inexcusable act of visiting Spain without going to Barcelona" (FP- 4-1-1954); and, a final example, "I am sorry that a year has gone by without my seeing you, but I have thought about you & talked about you" (FP- 17-12-1957).

Figure 4.3. The main towns on the Iberian Peninsula mentioned in Chapter 4 and Figure 4.4.

Therefore, his first trip after his holiday many years before in 1927 was in 1949. Kendrick arrived in Madrid on 27 September and stayed in Spain for a month. He was accompanied by someone akin to the new artistic circles in which he was then moving, the artist John Graxton, a "very young English painter" (FP- 30-8-1949). His aim was to study "some 16th century history", partly at the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan in the National Library and also to go to Granada (FP- 30-8-1949, 6-10-1949). He explained that he had been given "some extra money to buy books & photographs & so on, so I expect I shall be quite happy" (FP- 9-9-1949). After a week in Madrid, he went to Andalusia and then back to Madrid. There he met Pericot. They must have met at the hotel, as Kendrick stayed in the same one Pericot always used in Madrid, the Hotel Nacional. Pericot, he later explained to Hawkes, had been unexpectedly "summoned to Madrid", where he had to stay for most of the month of "October as a member of a jury for *oposiciones* to a chair at the University of Madrid" (BOD-Hawkes, Box 21, Pericot 6-11-1949). There he had found their mutual friend Kendrick, who, he hoped "has explained you our meeting" (ibidem).

During this trip Kendrick started to build a new network of colleagues in Spain, one in which there was no place for archaeologists. One of his new acquaintances was the Arabist, Father Pedro Longás Bartibás (1881-1968), a librarian in the Department of Manuscripts at the National Library in Madrid. About the latter he informed Pericot that he had "just got an excellent microfilm of a manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional & I am reading it every night on my projector at home. It is not a very convenient way to study, but it is wonderfully clear. Pedro Longás sent me the microfilm in about ten days & it is very good - much better than some that I have had made here." (FP- 10-1-1950). During and after this trip, Kendrick worked on the sixteenth-century fakes of Sacromonte in Granada[16], as he read a paper on this subject at the Society of Antiquaries in March 1950 (he also gave another on the subject at the Warburg Institute in 1953) (Kendrick 1957: 309). He later published this in 1957 under the title "An Example of the Theodicy-Motive in Antiquarian Thought". Perhaps the obscurity of the title was related to a certain "charming Professor Gámir from Granada, a historian", who he had received in the BM. "He read my paper on the lead books, & he said he

[16] In 1588 a lead box was found when the Turpiana tower, the old minaret of the Granada mosque, was knocked down on Saint Gabriel's day (Saint Gabriel was the most important angel in the Islamic religion). In this lead box there was a statue of the Virgin Mary, a bone of Saint Steven and a parchment written in Arabic, Latin and Castilian. This contained a prophecy by Saint John, announcing the coming of Mohammed and Luther, with comments by Saint Cecilio, the bishop of Iliberri. The forgers identified the ancient city of Iliberri with Granada. This was rejected by contemporary scholarly opinion and was one of the arguments later used to deny the find's authenticity. In 1595, seeing that the forgery had not been discovered, the forgers went further and left a series of lead plates on which were supposedly written religious texts on the Granada Sacromonte (Sacred Mount). These texts linked both Arabs and Christians to the origins of Christianity. The aim of these forgeries was to try and convince the Old Christians that the Islamic religion had played a key role in the preservation of Christianity. This demonstrated that the forgers were attempting to overcome the ethnic conflict between *Moriscos* and Old Christians and to integrate the *Moriscos* into the dominant Christian society (Alvarez Barrientos and Mora 1985; Caro Baroja 1992).

		1927	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1956	1957	1958	1959	1964
SPAIN		April	Oct	Sept	Oct	April	Jan	July	Mar	Dec?	Dec?	Nov?	Spring
Catalonia	Barcelona	h											
Madrid	Madrid		x		x		x			x/h			
Andalusia	Granada		x				x			x/h			
	Sevilla						x			x/h			
	Cádiz						x						
	Jaén									x/h			
	Málaga									h			
Galicia	Santiago			x							x		
	Vigo			x									
Aragón	Zaragoza			x									x
La Rioja	Logroño				x								
N Castile	Burgos				x								
	Valladolid					x							
	Soria												x
N Spain	Oviedo					x							
	Santander					x							
Valencian C	Alicante											h?	
PORTUGAL	Fatima												
	Lisbon			x				x	c				
	Porto			x									

Figure 4.4. Kendrick's trips to Spain. x indicates a research trip, c a conference and h holidays.

thought it should not be published as the College of the Sacromonte[17] is still very sensitive on the subject. I decided to take his advice but I have put a short extract of it into the Festschrift for Saxl, & I will send you an off-print of that" (FP- 21-1-1952).

He returned to the Iberian Peninsula in September 1950. Although he had first thought of perhaps going to Granada (FP- 10-1-1950), in the end Andalusia was not on his route. He entered the Peninsula through Lisbon and headed north towards Porto in Portugal. He then crossed the Portuguese-Spanish frontier and went to Galicia (Vigo and Santiago). He started his long return to Britain via Zaragoza, crossing the Pyrenees at Canfranc – a choice perhaps related to the location of the latter on the mediaeval pilgrimage route of the Saint James Way (Camino de Santiago) (FP- 9-9-1950). His final stop was Pau in France (FP- 14-10-1950). Kendrick announced to Pericot that he was working on "the Lisbon earthquake & the miracle of Fatima" (FP- 14-10-1950). He must have also been working on the Saint James Way, for all these three topics come up in the letters relating to his trip to Spain and Portugal in 1951. Thus, he explained that he was hoping to go to Fatima, Madrid and Zaragoza in order to visit the site of the Battle of Clavijo (in the year 844), which was the origin of the image of Saint James as a Moor-killer (Santiago Matamoros) (FP- 24-1-1951). In 1952 he was writing an article on this (FP- 21-1-1952), but Zaragoza is not mentioned in his 1951 route later on.

When he finally went to Spain in mid-October (FP- 24-9-1951), he arrived in Madrid and worked there in the National Library, after which he headed north to Burgos and Logroño (FP- 18-12-1951, 31-12-1951). He continued widening his network to include the Duke of Alba (1878-1953), who had been the Spanish ambassador to Britain (1939-45), the director of the Royal Academy of History and a researcher in his own right. He explained that "we had lunch yesterday to meet the Duke of Alba & his daughter. He is working very hard on manuscripts records" (FP- 3-7-1950), and three

[17] As a result of the popular fervour raised by the Sacromonte finds in 1594, Bishop D. Pedro de Castro decided to found an abbey. Its church was consecrated in 1610. The college that was begun on its premises was given permission to teach at high school, university and doctorate levels. From the eighteenth century it had chairs in Church History and Oriental Languages and much later in Civil Law. From 1845, however, new legislation restricted the teaching of university degrees to state institutions. This greatly affected the institution's prospects and it began a decline with a first attempt in 1952 to close it and, finally, with its definitive closure in 1976 (Julio Román Punzón pers. comm. Nov 2007).

years later "we are all very sad about the death of the Duke of Alba. He was lunching in my house about a month ago. As you know, he was a very good friend to the British Museum, & knew many of us very well. We had just given him two busts of Trajan" (FP- 5-10-1953). Years later he also mentioned the historian Martín de Riquer "It was a great pleasure to have de Riquer here & to hear some Catalan news" (FP- 17-12-1957)[18].

He managed another trip in the spring of 1952. He sent a postcard from Logroño where he was reading the historian García de Valdeavellano's "About the origins of Lower Middle Ages" (García de Valdeavellano 1952). About it he commented: "I wonder how he knows Ramiro I reoccupied Leon? Chapter of Santiago culture & I will be very pleased!" (FP- 2-5-1952). If he followed his planned route, he also went to Valladolid, Oviedo and Santander, crossing the French frontier via Irun (FP- 19-3-1952). Spain was again Kendrick's destination in January 1953. This time he sailed to Gibraltar (FP- 1-1-1953) and visited Cadiz, Seville, Granada and Madrid (FP- 15-1-1953). Months later, he was reading the false Dextro, a faked chronicle supposedly from the sixth century but written at the end of the sixteenth century with the aim of reconciling several traditions about Saint James' conversion of apostles in Spain. In relation to this, he asked Pericot whether he had a friend interested in Catalan hagiography who could tell him whether there had been any cult of the saints Bonosus and Maximus at Blanes. He added "as you probably know, there, at Arjona [a village in the province of Jaen, Andalusia], they

[18] The letters also mention other members of Kendrick's network of friends not necessarily related to the Iberian Peninsula. He alludes to one of his friends, a well known English writer, H.V. Morton, who was then living in South Africa. He had recommended him to write to Pericot to ask about "very serious historical problems. He is writing some kind of travel book on Spain, & has put some of his questions to me, as he is an old friend of mine. I have taken the liberty of giving him your name, & I hope he will not be much trouble. As he does not read Spanish, you will understand he is not going very deeply with the problems that he sets us!" (FP- 4-1-1954). Morton's serious questions related to "the origin of the geese that are kept in Barcelona cathedral". He needed this information for his forthcoming book *A Stranger in Spain* (FP- Morton 6-5-1954) (Morton 1955). Earlier in the text the Indian scholar, S. Paramasivan, has been mentioned. Kendrick also recommended him and explained that Paramasivan was "interested in the preservation of wall paintings and of other monuments in Spain" (FP- Paramasivan 9-1-1956). Pericot wrote back apologising for the fact that he would not be in Barcelona when he was going to arrive and recommending several places to go and people to talk to (FP- draft letter from Pericot to Paramasivan 13-1-1956).

were warmly welcomed, and their remains were eventually excavated in the early 17th century; in fact, there was a great deal of fuss about them in the south" (FP- 20-8-1953). Later on he thanked him "for sending me such interesting information about the Blanes Cult of Bonosus Maximus. Good old Dextro!" (FP- 5-10-1953)

In 1954 he announced that he was planning to go to Santiago and also to Arjona "to light a candle to SS. Bonosus & Maximinus" (FP- 4-1-1954). However, he only managed to stay in Lisbon for three weeks working on the earthquake in the National Library in early summer. Kendrick seems to have had a deadline, for he added the comment that "You escaped the earthquake, so you must not expect me to be interested in you till after 1st November 1955" (FP- 31-7-1954). Having submitted the book, it was then "held up by the printing strike here" (FP- 1-3-1956). In July, when the young archaeologist Antonio Arribas (1926-2002) visited him at the BM, they talked at length about the Lisbon earthquake (FP- Arribas 8-7-1956). In his letter of January 1956, Kendrick announced that he had been invited to give a lecture before Easter in Lisbon, although not on the subject of his then forthcoming book, but on the British Museum (FP- 1-3-1956).

After *The Lisbon Earthquake* (Kendrick 1956), Kendrick soon resumed work on another old project, his "unfortunate Spanish book" (FP- 11-2-1957) *St James in Spain*. In 1957 he mentioned that he was planning to go to Seville and Granada, although he complained about the Colombina Library – by then four centuries old – being closed for rebuilding (FP- 11-2-1957). However, it seems that this trip was substituted by his honeymoon after his marriage to his second wife, Katharine. They holidayed at Almuñécar in Málaga province and Granada, Jaén, Arjona, Seville and Madrid. He explained that he had taken "some photographs for my book, but really we did very little work & just enjoyed ourselves looking at the sights" (FP- 17-12-1957). A year later he went to Santiago in the late autumn of 1958 and soon after he managed to finish the book (FP- 15-1-1959). Once published, he sent a copy to Pericot (FP- 29-12-1960).

The third major Iberian project Kendrick took on after those on the Sacromonte fakes, St James and the Lisbon earthquake was the study of Sor Maria de Ágreda (1602-1665), "a very remarkable lady" (FP- 29-12-1960), a Spanish nun and abbess. A year later he asked Pericot "If any of your brilliant colleagues has ever written on Sor Maria de Ágreda & Catalan affairs in the reign of P. IV [King Philip IV], please let me know"

(FP- 19-1-1962). Still in connection with that project, he asked Pericot if he could buy for him Eduardo Royo's 1914 book on the controversy raised by the content of Agreda's posthumous book, "The Mystical City" (printed in 1670). He offered to send J.H. Elliott's *Revolt of the Catalans* "or whatever you want" in exchange (FP- 24-11-1963). Regarding Royo's book, he wrote that if it was hard to find he said that he could "always get a micro-film copy from some library in Spain (ibidem). The book about Sor Maria de Agreda was finally published seven years later than the first-mentioned book, in 1967, a delay that may be explained by a couple of different projects Kendrick undertook, no longer related to either archaeology or the history of religion. Early in 1962 he mentioned that "I am now publishing a novel, illustrated like the stories in magazines. It is about the early days of flying, 1906 in fact, & is, I assure you, beneath contempt. Then I go on to another, 1909 with [Louis] Blériot" (FP- 19-1-1962), publications that I have been unable to trace. He also published an autobiographical novel, *Great Love for Icarus* (Kendrick 1962), that he dispatched to Pericot saying "I am sending you a book. It is not for you to read, but a tribute - ex amicitia, honoris causa. If it arrives, you will see I am getting very silly in my old age!" (FP- 30-12-1962).

In 1968 he may have been involved in yet another project, as he mentioned "It was very kind of you to ask Mateu y Llopis [(1901-1998), the director of the Central Library of Catalonia from 1940 until his retirement in 1973] to send me a copy of his illustrated article on the late 'portrait' issue of Philip IV's vellon [vellon is a type of coin]. This is just the sort of help I wanted, and I am most grateful to you" (FP- 31-3-1968). This project seems to have remained unfinished. In his final years Kendrick increasingly mentions his failing sight. He had to read "with a closed-circuit TV reader and with helpers" (FP- 15-12-1975). In his last letter he thanks Pericot for a book he has sent and explains that he has "discovered some new important MS material & it is difficult to make changes when one can't see what you have already written!!" (FP- 25-12-1976). Kendrick died on 2 November 1979, a year after Pericot had passed away.

Vere Gordon Childe

In contrast to the silence maintained in histories of archaeology about Sir Thomas Kendrick, the bibliography on Childe is overwhelming in its quantity. He is probably the archaeologist about whom the most literature

has been published[19]. Born in North Sydney, Australia in 1892, he undertook his UG degree at the University of Sydney, where he gained a first-class degree in Classics (Latin, Greek and Philosophy) in 1913. With a scholarship he moved to Oxford in 1914, where he began a Diploma in Classical Archaeology but instead completed a B.Litt. in Archaeology in 1916 and obtained First Class Honours in Literae Humaniores in 1917. He was supervised there by John L. Myres, who would have a long-lasting influence on him (Díaz-Andreu 2009). On his return to Australia in that year, he spent a period that he later dismissed as a "sentimental excursion into Australian politics" (Childe 1958b: 69), but which was actually more than that (Gathercole et al. 1995). In 1921 he returned to England as an employee of the State of New South Wales to report on European social democratic movements, but the change of government after the Australian general elections meant that in early June 1922 he found himself out of work (Green 1981:39). He then resumed the project he had started before he left Britain in 1917. After a very difficult period, he got a job as Assistant Librarian at the Royal Anthropological Institute of London in 1925. In that year he published *The Dawn of European Civilization*, followed a year later by *The Aryans*. He unsuccessfully applied for several scholarships (BOD-Myres, several letters) and had various jobs (Green 1981:42-46). He applied for a chair at Cardiff in 1926 (it went to Victor Nash-Williams, a Welsh archaeologist specialising in Roman archaeology (Scott-Fox 2002: 92)). His brilliance was finally acknowledged a year later, when he was appointed the first professor of prehistoric archaeology at Edinburgh University. However, he had not been the first choice and he was only offered the job once both Burkitt and Wheeler had expressed their lack of interest in it (Lamberg-Karlovsky 1976: 473; Webster 1991: 188). In 1946 he left Edinburgh when was appointed Professor of European Archaeology at the Institute of Archaeology, London (1946-1956).

[19] (Bradley 2004; Gathercole 1981; 1982; 1989; 1994; 2000; 2003-04; 2005; Green 1981; Harris 1994; McNairn 1980; Mulvaney 1994; Murray 1995; Sherratt 1997; 1997-98; Trigger 1980). Regarding Childe's reception in other countries see for Australia (Gathercole et al. 1995; Melleuish 1997-98); Europe in general (Lech 1999); Holland (Bakker 2001); Hungary (Leighton and Sørensen 2004); Portugal (Carvalho 1989; Díaz-Andreu 1998; Gonçalves forthcoming); Mexico (Manzanilla 1987); Spain (Clop et al. 2007; Díaz-Andreu 1998; 2007b); US (Braidwood nd; Patterson 2003; Patterson and Orser 2004; Peace 1988; 1995); and Childe the Marxist (Evans 1995; Faulkner 2007; Gathercole 1995).

Figure 4.5. Vere Gordon Childe in the 1930s. Source: Evatt Collection, Flinders University Library.

Throughout his career, Childe published works aimed at drafting a cultural history of prehistoric Europe and the Near East, including those mentioned above and others such as *The Most Ancient East* (1928) and *The Danube in Prehistory* (1929). From the mid-1930s he also wrote a series of books in which he provided a historical materialist account of the evolution of human society in European prehistory, including *Man Makes Himself* (1936), *What Happened in History* (1942), *Progress and Archaeology* (1944c), *Social Evolution* (1951b) and *The Prehistory of European Society* (1958a) (for further analysis of his work, see Chapter 7). He retired in 1956 and shortly after left Britain for Australia. He committed suicide in the mountains of New South Wales on 19 October 1957 (Daniel 1980: 1-2).

Childe's contacts with Spain and Portugal have been the focus of recent studies (Carvalho 1989; Díaz-Andreu 1998; 2007b; 2007c). These have explained, on the one hand, his influence on Spanish archaeology and, on the other, the number and nature of the visits he made to Spain and Portugal. About the latter, nothing is mentioned either by Childe's major biographers (Green 1981; Trigger 1980) or in books about his work in Europe (Harris 1994; McNairn 1980). In fact, he himself does not mention his dealings with Iberian archaeology in any of his works, as far as I can tell (and this is certainly the case in one publication where this would have been expected, the *Dawn of European Civilization*, especially in the prefaces to the 1947, 1950 and 1957 editions published shortly after his visits to the Iberian Peninsula). In any case, until the publication of the articles mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph, this silence was shared on the Iberian Peninsula. Among the following generation of professionals, those who were young in the late 1960s, the historical memory of Childe's presence in Spain and Portugal had already disappeared and they were unaware of it (for Portugal see Jorge and Jorge (1995: 256), for Spain see Alcina Franch (1987) and comments in Díaz-Andreu (1998: 61)).

In the Pericot Archive there are forty-three documents (letters, postcards and notes) sent by Childe to Pericot. One of them, a postcard written soon after one of his trips to the USSR, sent from Perugia on 2 March 1953 ("Greetings from Cetona, Filotrano etc till we meet in Madrid in one year"), is signed in Cyrillic script. There is also one draft letter from Pericot to Childe and he is mentioned in twenty-eight other documents by Christopher Hawkes (7), Grahame Clark (4) and others. The correspondence between Childe and Pericot is dated between 1931 and 1956, although its distribution is uneven. There are only five missives from the period before the end of World War II, but there is a considerable increase around the time of Childe's visit to Spain in 1947, with twelve letters. After this there was another peak between 1949 and 1951, with fifteen documents sent at the time Pericot started his full involvement with the CISPP, the International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences. These documents have been discussed in Chapter 3. The final group of seven letters and a postcard dates from 1954 to 1956, the time at which the congress was being held in Madrid. There are, therefore, gap years with no correspondence and none of the letters provides any hint as to others that may have gone missing. The correspondence deals with three major topics: arrangements for visits to the Iberian Peninsula, international congresses and politics. On the latter, most of the information has been

published elsewhere (Díaz-Andreu 2007b). Some of the information discussed in this chapter was found in the Santa-Olalla Archive of the Museo de San Isidro Los Orígenes in Madrid.

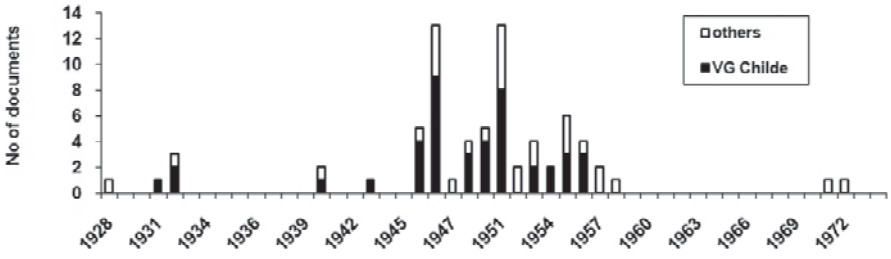

Figure 4.6. Letters in the Pericot Archive from V. Gordon Childe (black) and other letters in which Childe is mentioned (white).

Visiting each other's countries

Childe in Spain

Childe travelled to Spain four times during his life: during the Christmas holidays of 1928-29, when his main purpose was to visit Los Millares; in April 1947, when he was invited to give lectures; and in April 1954 to attend the IV CISPP conference. He also he visited sites in Spain from Gibraltar in 1957 (Green 1981: 144-5). With the exception of the last trip, he met Pericot on all those occasions. As regards as their encounters in Britain, it seems that they met for the first time in December 1926 (Pericot 1958b). They may have realised that they had something in common, as a few months earlier they had both been translating Leon Homo's *Primitive Italy*, among other books, as their main means of earning a living (Green 1981: 45-46; Pericot 1950e: 7-8). They would soon have something else in common. Childe, as had already happened to Pericot in December 1925, would see an end to his years of economic and professional poverty when he was also made a professor in October 1927 (Ralston 2009).

Regarding their encounter in 1928, it was Kendrick who alerted Pericot that Childe would be passing through Barcelona. In his letter of 29 November 1928 he wrote: "My friend Professor Childe will be in Barcelona this December. I hope you will be able to meet him. I think he

will be there just before Christmas". Pericot would comment much later: "We remember him determined to come down from the summit of the Tibidabo Mountain on a snowy day. In this he succeeded in showing his interest in mountaineering" (Pericot 1957d: 298). However, the main aim of Childe's visit was not to stay in Barcelona, but to go south to see the Chalcolithic site of Los Millares, in south-eastern Spain. This trip was only indirectly mentioned in one of Childe's letters years later, when he said that he would have liked to have visited Almería again (FP- 5-2-1949). Throughout his life, Childe's research focused mainly on Eastern and Central Europe, trying to fill in the gaps between the knowledge he had received from his Oxford B.Litt. supervisors, Arthur Evans and, especially, John Myres, and the research undertaken in Britain. He believed that the Danube-Rhine had been the main route used in the spread of the Neolithic from the Ancient East and the Aegean to Britain, and obviously the Iberian Peninsula had no place on this route. Despite the fact that in his preface to the *Danube in Prehistory* Childe admitted the possibility that the Iberian Peninsula was another possible missing link between the East and Britain (Childe 1929: v; O'Sullivan 1998), he never developed this idea. That is why, after his 1928 trip, he would only undertake another similar one to visit sites more than twenty years later, when he went to Portugal during the Christmas holiday of 1949-50 (Carvalho 1989).

Childe visited Spain again in 1947. The origin of this trip was an invitation received from Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla, professor of Prehistoric Archaeology at the University of Madrid. In 1945 Santa-Olalla proposed to Childe that they organise a student exchange between Britain (although he said England in his letter, despite Childe being in Scotland) and Spain. In order to obtain funds for this he invited Childe to come to Spain and give a talk to the SEAEP (the Spanish Society of Anthropology, Ethnography and Prehistory) (MuM-O ASO/31-63, 5-12-1945). Childe answered him the following month thanking him for the offer and for having accepted as a PhD student a young Irishman, Eoin MacWhite, who had just graduated in Dublin and had obtained a grant to study in another country as a PhD student (for MacWhite see Díaz-Andreu (1998: 56-9) and O'Sullivan (1998))[20]. As plane tickets were very restricted, however, Childe was unable to organise his visit in 1946 (MuM-O ASO/25-180, 16-3-1946). Santa-Olalla then told Childe about his project to organise a

[20] Childe recommended to Pericot "a very nice and intelligent young Irishman, Eoin MacWhite, will have worked his way up to Barcelona. He was in Madrid with Olalla [Martínez Santa-Olalla] before Christmas" (FP- 20-1-1946).

congress on the palaeoethnology of the Iberian Peninsula to be held in Madrid and Childe mentioned this project to Hawkes and Burkitt (information in MuM-O ASO/25-175, a letter written by Childe on 20-7-1946). However, on 4 October he wrote in his peculiar French to inform his Spanish colleague that he had stopped organising this as "A'vrai dire on a entendu parler de certains divisions entre les collègues españols, et personne ne veut s'embrouiller dans les telles affaires" ("In fact we have heard about certain divisions among Spanish scholars and nobody wants to get involved in these affairs") (MuM-O ASO/25-174, FP- 4-10-1946) (see Chapter 2). Nevertheless, he maintained his willingness to accept the invitation to give a talk at the SEAEP.

In the months before his 1947 trip to Spain, Childe became increasingly unhappy about the SEAEP not answering his letters asking for details of the financing of his trip. The problems had started in 1946, as we gather from Childe's complaint: "Santa Olalla was going [to the Pan-African Congress on Prehistory held in Nairobi] too, via Britain, but I gather that he did not come here anyhow" (FP- 26-7-1946). On 22 February 1947, Childe explained to Pericot that "I wrote also to the Sociedad española de antropologia, … in the same sense since it was originally they who had invited me. But from them I have had no reply so far. This cannot be due to Santa Olalla's absence I now know. It makes it rather awkward. For the Sociedad españ. had promised to pay the expenses of my journey" (FP- 22-2-1947). And a few days latter he rebuffed "I think I must treat the Anthropological Society as non-existent" (FP- 5-3-1947).

Childe must have asked MacWhite for some inside information. In March MacWhite sent Childe a letter clarifying why he had not received a reply to his letters: it was because the SEAEP president, the Duke of Alba, was absent from Madrid; however, he should not worry about not having his fare and fee paid. He further explained, no doubt influenced by Santa-Olalla's comments to him, that his visit to Spain had raised tensions between the CSIC and the SEAEP. Hostility had also come from the Minister of Education, Ibáñez Marín. Both the CSIC and the minister had tried to stop Childe's visit, denouncing Santa-Olalla "for the importation of dangerous communists". However, once they had realised that they could not do this, they had "decided to steal as much of the show as possible" [21] (MuM-O ASO/24-471, dated 1-3[-1947]). MacWhite also told

[21] Towards the end of his letter MacWhite announced: "I will be here until about the end of April and I shall probably read my doctorate thesis during the time of your visit here. I'm pretty fed up with Atlantic trade and with the Bronze Age and

Childe about his own difficulties in Madrid as Santa-Olalla's student, for it had led to others obstructing his research; the director of the National Archaeological Museum (i.e. Blas Taracena), for example, had denied him access to the collections.

Although there may be some truth in MacWhite's interpretation, it seems that, given Childe's growing unhappiness with the situation, his visit was effectively saved by Pericot in Barcelona and Blas Taracena, the director of the National Archaeological Museum and head of one of the institutes of the CSIC in Madrid. They both obtained funding for Childe's visit. They did this by offering Childe the possibility of also lecturing in the Humanities headquarters of the CSIC in Madrid and at the university in Barcelona. Childe prepared two lectures to give during his stay in Spain. He did so with English-formatted slides – he insisted on this on a couple of occasions in his letters. His lectures were on "The Diffusion of Culture from the Iberian Peninsula over the Atlantic Route", which he gave in the CSIC, and "Fresh Data for the Prehistoric Chronology of Atlantic Europe", which he used for the SEAEP[22]. About which one to give in the CSIC, he told Pericot: "you may have whichever you like; the second is more technical but more novel" (FP- 20-3-1947).

During this trip Childe also planned to go to Valencia and Portugal. He managed to reach the first destination, but not the second. Childe insisted on travelling to Catalonia via Valencia, as he had "never been there and there must be a lot to see" (FP- 5-3-1947). This was organised, but he still complained saying that "I only wonder whether one day will suffice for Valencia". And he continued "I have never been there at all and there must be much material, including I suppose yours from Parpalló. I shall certainly have enough pesetas to stay a couple of nights at my own cost" (FP- 30-3-1947). A few years later Childe published an article on the Middle Bronze Age in the Valencian journal *Archivo de Prehistoria Levantina* dedicated to Isidro Ballester Tormo (1876-1950), the main figure of Valencian archaeology in the first half of the twentieth century (Childe 1953). Despite the fact that this must be linked to Pericot, given how close Pericot and Ballester had been since the 1920s, there is no

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am helping to start a little work on some ideas I have on the tempo and rhythm of progress" (MuM-O ASO/24-471, dated 1.3.[1947]).

[22] Despite Childe's unhappiness with the SEAEP, as stated in the main text, he finally gave a lecture there. Before his arrival in Spain he had said to Pericot that he had to "after all[,] address also the Sociedad española de antropologia, etc." (FP- 20-3-1947), which he did on 11 April.

mention of this article in the letters. Childe must have met Ballester on his visit to Valencia in 1947 and Pericot may have commented about his death and the preparation of a Festschrift during his visit to Britain in October 1951. All communication about this must have taken place with Domingo Fletcher Valls in Valencia and this is why there is no mention of it in the letters. As regards Portugal, before his arrival in Spain Childe also mentioned that he would "definitely go to Lisbon if I can get a seat on the plane from there on the 23rd April. Afonso do Paço has written to say that the Instituto para Alta Cultura and the British Council are going to invite me. I must then leave Madrid on 20th at latest either by plane or night train" (FP- 30-3-1947). He later apologised to Pericot for not going to Portugal[23].

There must have been a good feeling between Pericot and Childe because, as had happened years before with Kendrick, he started to be treated to a certain degree as family. During Childe's visit in 1947, it seems that Pericot asked Childe to phone the Raurich relatives in England, as he then explained: "My dear Pericot, I have safely returned to London, have posted your letter and have talked to Mrs Jones of Enfield on the phone. She was very glad to hear from you and asked particularly after your daughters" (FP- 26-4-1947). In that letter there may have been some stamps and a "nice Spanish book" (FP- Malcolm Jones 4-2-1947). Pericot thanked Childe for the favour (FP- 18-6-1947). Childe had left Spain with a bad cold (FP- 26-4-1947) on 22 April, having arrived two weeks before on 9 April (FP- 5-3-1947). Pericot wrote to him in June: "Very glad to receive the news that you are now well and that you have a good recollection from the journey to Spain. Here all the friends remember you and your too short stay with us" (FP- 18-6-1947).

Childe was again invited to Spain in the spring and summer of 1949, but he declined both offers. The first invitation was to participate in the first Archaeological Congress of Southeastern Spain (CASE, Congreso Arqueológico del Sureste Español) – a series of congresses that, in the long term, would lead to the creation of the Spanish National Archaeological

[23] As he explained "I am sorry to have caused so much trouble by changes of plan. First I found there was no train or plane Madrid-Lisbon on 20th and then that it would take me a week to get a Portuguese visé. After that the safest thing seemed to be to return direct from Madrid on 22nd. I'll keep my plane seat to Madrid on 19th and have booked a room here for that night" (FP- 11-4-1947). Childe finally managed to go to Portugal during the Christmas holiday of 1949, as explained in his letter of 12.1. 1950 (in Carvalho 1989 and Díaz-Andreu 1998: 59-60).

Congresses (CNA, Congreso Nacional Arqueológico). The first CASE was held in Almería, the province where the Los Millares and El Argar sites are located. On that occasion Childe said that he "should love to go to Almeria again, but the second week of April is too near Term - we actually reassemble on 20th" (FP- 5-2-1949). His participation in the International Summer Course of Ampurias was also requested (see in Hawkes, below), but to this he answered with an excuse: "A visit to your conference in Ampurias would be nice too, but I am afraid of the heat at that time of year. I much prefer to be cold, as I am now with ice everywhere and a fog so thick you can hardly see across the street" (FP- 5-2-1949). He was again invited to the summer courses of Ampurias in summer 1950 but, after an initial positive response (FP- 8-6-1950), he again declined because of his fear of the heat. As he explained "the heat last week made me really ill, though I began to feel better again as soon as I got out into the nice cold westerly gale at Northolt, I'm sure I should collapse in the Mediterranean heat and only be a nuisance to everyone – certainly I could not produce an intelligible lecture in French worthy of the occasion. So I have written to Almagro to say I am not coming. I really am very sorry to disappoint you and on my account very disappointed to miss this chance of seeing you and the other Spanish colleagues again and also the monuments of the Baleares which I have never seen (I have tried to say the same in French to Almagro but am doubtful how well I have succeeded – 'disappoint' for instance cannot be translated conveniently" (FP- 29-8-1950)).

A year later, in December 1951, Childe participated in an English-Ligurian-Spanish meeting ("encuentro anglo-ligur-hispánico"). From San Remo he sent a postcard to Pericot saying: "Nous avons meme ici un enceinte préhistorique. Salutations pour le Nouvel An. V Gordon Childe. Encuentro anglo-ligur-hispánico 28.12.51 [two unidentified signatures] Mª Angeles" (FP- 28-12-1951). This pleasant missive to Pericot has to be understood in the context of the role the latter was about to play in the CISPP. Childe's last but one visit to Spain had precisely to do with that organisation, to which he had been linked from earlier on (Díaz-Andreu 2009). Childe attended the IV CISPP in Madrid in 1954 and gave a paper on "Burnish-decorated ware in Spain, Higher Asia and the Balkans" that was not published in the proceedings or apparently anywhere else (Gathercole and Irving 2009). He also acted as the chairman of one of the sessions on the Bronze Age (Section IV).

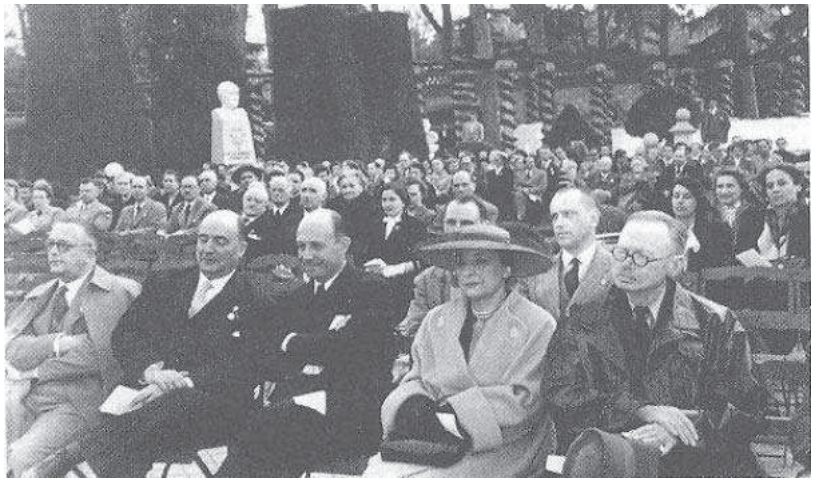

Figure 4.7. Childe during the IV CISPP in Madrid (April 1954). From left to right: Alberto del Castillo, Luis Pericot, Madrid's Mayor, Pia Laviosa-Zambotti and Gordon Childe. Source: newspaper Destino 16-9-1961, reproduced in Santonja Gómez and Vega Toscano (2002: fig. 8).

Pericot in Britain

Pericot made seven trips to Britain during Childe's lifetime and they met on five of these (see Fig. 3.10). The only indication that they met during Pericot's first visit to Britain during the Christmas holiday of 1926-27 is a reference from Pericot giving the date of 1926 as the year they first met (Pericot 1958b). As explained above, by his next visit to Britain at Christmas 1931-32, Pericot had already met Childe in Barcelona. Childe sent him an invitation to dine at the Royal Societies Club, St James Street on 5 January 1932 (FP- 29-12-1931). Two days later, Pericot, who made the trip mainly to contextualise the finds of the Parpalló site, left Britain and continued with visits to other collections in Western Europe (see Chapter 3). The Spanish Civil War (1936-39) partly explains the gap of eight years in the letters. When Pericot got in contact in 1940, the reply he received from Childe was more positive than Kendrick's silence (see above). Despite this, World War II probably impeded much communication and before 1946 there is only one more letter dated in 1943.

Childe was a key organiser behind Pericot's trip in 1946. On 20 January of that year, Childe wrote to Pericot that "I greatly look forward to your visit.

Your very important archaeological discoveries at Parpallo and Cueva de la Cocina have much excited your colleagues here and we shall all hope to learn more details from you personally. The University of Edinburgh anyhow will feel highly honoured if you will give a public lecture in this Department – after April 16, the vacations here begin Mar.15 to April 16 this year" (FP- 20-1-1946). Childe also played a key role in organising the other lectures given by Pericot on that trip. He mentioned in January that "I have informed Dorothy Garrod for I am sure the University of Cambridge will try to take the same advantage of your visit. Very likely the Society of Antiquaries of London will also seek a lecture from you or if not the Royal Anthropological Institute" (ibidem). Pericot indeed gave lectures in Cambridge, invited by Dorothy Garrod, and also at the Society of Antiquaries of London (see also Chapter 5). A few days after Pericot's lecture in Edinburgh, Childe explained to Santa-Olalla "I have just had the pleasure of entertaining my old friend Pericot here. He kindly consented to give a most interesting lecture in my Department [Edinburgh], open to the public, that drew a large audience and was better reported in the local papers (that are very bad at such cultural and scientific matters usually) than usual" (MuM-O ASO/25-178, dated 24-4-1946). As Pericot had arrived the previous Sunday 21 April in the evening (FP- Childe 19-4-1946), we must infer that he had stayed with the Edinburgh professor for only a couple of days. This was probably his first visit to Edinburgh. However, he had had the intention of going there on his earliest trip to Britain during the Christmas holiday of 1925-26. The archive contains one letter by James Richardson, someone working for the Department of Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings of the H.M. Office of Works, letting Pericot know that he could provide an introduction to Graham Callander, the Director of the National Museum of Antiquities (FP- 14-12-1926). No letters follow this one and therefore it seems unlikely that Pericot finally went to Edinburgh on this occasion.

Childe and Pericot met again in 1951 and 1955. On 16 September 1951 Childe sent him a postcard of Limerick saying "A splendid meeting of the Prehistoric Soc [Prehistoric Society] has just finished here. Look forward to seeing you in October in London", but the correspondence does not provide any more information about this encounter. In 1955 Childe commented "I hope you will be able to come to Britain this year, when I shall be glad to hear your news. We can arrange a lecture for you which will provide a little sterling, and so can Hawkes and Clark" (FP- 3-3-1955) and two months later "I hope I may see you when you are in Oxford next

month" (FP- 6-5-1955). Pericot's visit seems to have been related to a CISPP Executive Committee meeting (Gracia Alonso et al. 2002: 352n).

Exchanges: publications, information and gifts

Publications and journals

The correspondence makes it clear that Pericot and Childe were sending each other some of their writings. The Spanish professor mailed Childe his publications on Parpalló (Pericot 1932; 1942b; 1947a)[24] and, in 1950, his book on *Primitive Spain**. Regarding the earliest, on 27 April 1932 Childe thanked Pericot "for your welcome promise of papers on Parpalló and summaries thereof duly received", but no comments were made later on it. The next mention of Parpalló dates from a few months after the end of the Spanish Civil War, during World War II, when Childe commented "I do hope you can publish Parpalló: it is most important – perhaps in America if not in Spain for naturally neither England, France nor Germany can just now" (FP- 1-1-1940). Parpalló was finally published in three volumes in 1942. Childe immediately wrote "I am delighted to hear Parpallo has been published and most anxious to see the full report since the advance information showed the great importance of the site… I should much like to have it and have promised to lend it to Prof. Garrod too" (FP- 8-5-1943).

Once received, Childe wrote an extensive report on the publication (Childe 1944a). He pointed out the importance of having a scientific excavation in Parpalló in order to fill in the existing gap in the knowledge of the Upper Palaeolithic sequence of the eastern Spanish coastal belt. As regards the nature of the material, it had shown that the African Capsian did not extend to the area – although the materials had some traces of it. Instead, Parpalló had shown a sequence comparable to the Franco-Cantabrian area. This included a whole sequence dated in the Solutrean, which meant that the geographical extent of this culture had to be changed dramatically to include eastern Spain and perhaps even further afield. The latter was because of the parallels established between the Parpalló material and the African Sbaikian (later known as the Aterian) and Still Bay points. This meant that the Solutrean had not arrived from Eastern Europe (something also indicated by its absence east of the Dniester), but perhaps had even

[24] There is no mention in Childe's letters of Pericot sending his 1947 publication on Parpalló (Pericot 1947a), but it is mentioned in one of Bosch's letters to Pericot (Gracia Alonso et al. 2002: letter 150).

been a Spanish creation. The importance of Parpalló was also marked by the presence of no less than 5,968 slabs throughout the site's sequence that were engraved, painted or both in a style that had more in common with Franco-Cantabrian Upper Palaeolithic cave art than with the open-air Levantine rock art found in the surrounding area. Pericot saw them as the origin of Levantine art: the intrusion of Magdalenians into the area had pushed the Solutrean artists out of the caves towards the south, where they had continued to paint in the shelters. Some of these artists would have decorated the cave of La Cocina, a site Pericot was also excavating. In this 4.5-metre-deep cave with a sequence of Mesolithic and Neolithic layers, Pericot had observed the remains of severely damaged paintings on the south wall that had been covered by the Neolithic layer. He had interpreted as them as a possible representation of an animal in Levantine style. Childe applauded Pericot's erudition in the comparative chapter in which he had given "exhaustive citations from the relevant literature including several works that, having been published in Italy or France since 1939, are still unknown in this country" (Childe 1944a: 34). It is worth mentioning that Pericot must have felt very proud of Childe's seven-page review, for he translated it and had it published in *Ampurias*, the archaeological journal published in Barcelona (Childe 1944b). He also wrote a short note on Childe's review in the *Archivo de Prehistoria Levantina* (Pericot 1945c).

The letters provide evidence of the close contact between Childe and the American palaeolithist, Prof. Hallam L. Movius (FP- 1907-1987). The three-volume publication on Parpalló was a subject of discussion between them. As Childe explained to Pericot, "I had been discussing its 'Solutrean' in letters to Hallam L. Movius and C.S. Coon of Harvard; we inclined to think it should be connected with the Aterian. If the Cova de la Cocina establish the age of the East Spanish group II paintings (as Vaufray's work seems to have done with the North African) you will have made a further grand contribution to world prehistory and I look forward to hearing your results" (FP- 8-5-1943). In 1947 Childe mentioned that "Movius of Harvard writes urging that you should publish more fully the fauna and flint work from Parpallo. I imagine that he wants an exhaustive and statistical tabulation of the flint and bone types from your several levels and I agree that such would be very desirable, but I have pointed out to him how difficult it is for you to find the time for this rather laborious task, considering that the material is in Valencia" (FP- 30-4-1947). To this Pericot replied: "I am very interested in what you say from Movius. Do you know if he has my book? I would send a copy to him and I can write

him explaining my work and my difficulties. Perhaps I could give him some details" (FP- 18-6-1947). Childe answered "I gather Movius has already got your book. What he wants to know is more details about the sort of soils and the fauna from the various horizons in your cave. You will probably by now have received the report on the cave near Tangier [he was referring to Magharet el-Aliya, or High Cave, in Tangier (Howe et al. 1947)], which shows you the sort of thing they want" (FP- 31-7-1947).

After Parpalló, Pericot's next internationally-known book was *Primitive Spain** (Pericot 1950c).. He sent it to many of his correspondents, including Childe. The London professor described it as a "charming little book" which "seems to give a really splendid survey and, if I may say so, to steer a masterly course between Santa Olalla and other schools. This was very ingenious" (FP- 8-6-1950). Childe did not mention anything in his letters about the excavation of La Cocina cave and the impact of this important excavation was not as marked as that of Parpalló. This was surely influenced by Pericot's inability to publish it properly, as only a provisional – although extensive – report of the four first excavation seasons was published (Pericot 1945e). Excavations continued afterwards (Pericot 1947-48a), but some of the results would only be published more than twenty years later by Javier Fortea (Fortea Pérez 1971). Pericot's *History of Spain** (Institute Gallach) (Pericot 1942a), and *Megalithic Tombs** [(Pericot 1950d)], however, were mentioned by Childe as a source in the sixth edition of the *Dawn* (FP- 13-2-1956).

Childe also sent publications to Pericot, but apparently only after the Civil War. Before that, he had probably sent them to Prof. Bosch Gimpera. Childe, for example, wrote "I try now to write a prehistory of Britain, but I expect it will be destroyed before I finish it" (FP- 1-1-1940). Then, in 1943, he explained that "My book 'Prehistoric Communities of the British Isles' [(Childe 1940)] was published in 1940 and quickly sold out the first edition of 1000 copies at £1/1 which was quite good. Another edition has been printed and I am sending you a copy through the good offices of the British Council" (FP- 8-5-1943). Childe also sent Pericot "a short paper on Querns [(Childe 1943)]. The Spanish material is most important in this connexion. I had to rely mainly on bad photographs that do not show what I most wanted to know and expect you can suggest improvements both in respect to dating and typology" (FP- 8-5-1943). Childe informed his Catalan colleague about the publication of Rinyo in 1947 (Childe and Graham 1947) (FP- 5-2-1949), but probably never sent a copy as it was of minor interest to Pericot's research. Finally, in 1956 Childe explained that

he was "now working on the new edition of the *Dawn*, and hope, perhaps before the end of the year, to be able to send you a copy" (FP- 13-2-1956), although there is no evidence that he ever did so. On the basis of the information contained in the correspondence, therefore, Childe only sent two, possibly three, publications to Pericot. However, from 1941 to 1949 Pericot reviewed at least eleven of Childe's works (Pericot 1941; 1944d; 1944e; 1944f; 1944g; 1945b; 1945-46b; 1945-46c; 1945-46d; 1945-46e; 1945-46f; 1949f; 1952a). Pericot praised Childe in all his reviews. "The indefatigable professor of Edinburgh remains centred on his work of systematisation. This is very welcome for those of us who cannot follow in detail the progressive development of prehistoric science and who find in his books useful syntheses and data difficult to find elsewhere" (Pericot 1944d: 351). Childe was also applauded as a populariser of archaeology to non-specialists; in his *Primitive Spain** Pericot said that he had not dared "to make the jump from the well-equipped science to literature, nor to hide his work under titles such as the one used by Gordon Childe in his English Prehistory, *Prehistoric communities of the British Isles*" (Pericot 1950c: 8). Pericot did not hide, however, their political discrepancies. *What Happened in History* was a low-cost book, and may be referred to as a book written under wartime conditions, which has "an acute sense of the social issues and points of view which we shall restrain ourselves from judging" (Pericot 1944g). No such mention was made about the articles on the USSR (Pericot 1944e), two years after Spanish troops - the so called Blue Division - had fought (and lost) together with the German army on the Russian front. Silence was most likely the best protection from possible political reprisals against Pericot.

Childe and Pericot also organised exchanges of journals. The former explained in 1943 that "all our archaeological journals have appeared though naturally on a rather reduced scale and on inferior paper. *Ampurias* is not known to me personally. I expect some societies that previously received *Anuario* [*Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*?] or *Buletli* [*Butlletí de l'Associació Catalana d'Antropologia, Etnologia i Prehistòria*?] would be glad to take it in exchange. The British Council would make the arrangements with pleasure. I am sure the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in any case would give its Proceedings in exchange" (FP- 8-5-1943). In 1955 Childe mentioned that he had "just come back from a very instructive visit to Bulgaria. Since 1945 they have done a lot of work both on prehistory and on Classical periods that is relevant also for you, and they publish their results now quite well, with French résumés. Sofia is already getting Ampurias. Plovdiv also publishes

a very good Annual, and an exchange might be worthwhile" (FP- 6-5-1955).

Exchange of information

In addition to organising visits and exchanges of publications and journals, the letters also had an important role in commenting ideas and enquiring about relevant data for work in progress. Childe's observations can be grouped fourfold: some are related to cultural-historical problems in Iberian archaeology, others to issues dealing with ancient technology, a third group of works in progress by himself and others and a final set of his thoughts about other archaeologists.

In one of his letters, Childe remarked about the relations between Spanish Neolithic[25] and Egyptian material that "as to Egypt, relations between Tarsia-Fayum and the Peninsular early Almeria culture and indeed the whole Westlische Kulturkreis are quite sure. That need mean no chronological parallelism at all. Egypt lay near the starting point of the agricultural-pastoral economy (sheep must be Asiatic, probably also wheat and barley) and then progressed very fast. It will take a long time for herdsmen and farmers from the east to reach Morocco and to cross the Straits. And culture changed very slowly. When you think of it, the cultural changes in Iberia from early neolithic to Roman times are very trifling compared to what happened in Egypt. In Morocco it is worse. Coon[,] an American from Harvard[,] excavated a cave near Tangier. There was an enormous thick layer of Neolithic pottery but Cardial and Channelled Ware throughout right up to Punic objects at the top of the stratum! Mrs Hawkes [(Hawkes 1938)] has published in the last volume of Archaeological Journal an important study on what she calls Channelled Ware includes much of your Cave pottery" (FP- 1-1-1940). In his answer Pericot must have asked for a copy of Jacquetta Hawkes' papers, because Childe then asked her husband for it ("If Jacquetta still has a copy of channelled Ware & a [unidentified word] it would be a kindness to send him a copy" (Childe to Hawkes, 28-2-1940, BOD-Hawkes papers, Box 7).

In his letter of 1st January 1940, Childe also provided Pericot with a complicated explanation about his chronological table published together with Burkitt in *Antiquity* years earlier (Burkitt and Childe 1932). About it he said that it was "out of date. You will find my latest views set forth in

[25] Childe thanked Pericot for the photos of Cardial pottery he had sent him, but added that "as you say they are not very good" (FP- 5-2-1949).

the copy of the Dawn [(Childe 1939)], if you ever get it. But I admit that the grounds therefor [sic] are very slender. The oldest really plausible date is Huelva before 750 BC. I accept too provisionally the date for segmented fayence [faience] beads given by Stone and Beck [(Beck and Stone 1936)] as 1400 BC (But segmented fayence beads occur much earlier in North Syria and untill (sic) it be proved that these do not correspond so well with those from Wiltshire and Hungary as do the 1400 Egyptian beads, the date must be accepted as provisional. It does however harmonize well with the amber and gold beads from the Shaft Graves and LMI-88 [unclear] tombs at Knossos which correspond to types current in England in early post-Beaker times and in Central Europe in Aunjetitzzeit. This corresponds essentially to Steinkistenzeit in Denmark. Note too that Maryon [(Maryon 1938)]has proved that Irish gold earrings were not (as is always said) made by soldering whereas the apparently similar earrings from Mycenean Cyprus were. Solder was not used by Irish gold smiths till Late Bronze Age and then in a different way. The early Irish ones therefore are not models for the Mycenaean, but barbarous imitation of such; but they do once more suggest intercourse about that time. I should still like to make Alcalá and NewGrange about this time, but still I cannot do it" (FP- 1-1-1940). Regarding Beakers, Childe commented: "it started in Spain, though there are grave difficulties" (FP- 1-1-1940).

Childe's comments about Spanish and Portuguese archaeology evidence his strong belief in archaeological cultures, a notion he adopted from German archaeology while he was a student and maintained throughout his life. Regarding rock art he noted: "I have just been reading your latest remarks on the art of Levante [probably referring to (Pericot 1950a)]. You have succeeded in being magnificently fair in presenting the two opposed views, but, I expect wisely, have left the crucial issue rather vague. This is, to me, the very striking resemblance of the later Levante art to paintings from Central Sahara, East Africa and South Africa which have been so strikingly demonstrated graphically in Graziosi's handsome volumes [(Graziosi 1942)]" (FP- 12-2-1951). He then added: "one could imagine 'Gravettians' crossing from Spain into North Africa while glacial conditions in Europe were still promoting some precipitation there, and equally easily late Capsians going in the opposite direction when desiccation set in, but at that time it would be difficult to believe in an exodus from Europe into a deteriorating Saharan environment" (FP- 12-2-1951). He warned about establishing parallels between material cultures: "The trouble about the rock paintings of course is that the closest African

resemblances are just to those which must come quite late in the epi-Gravettian, bzw, post-Gravettian" (FP- 23-2-1951).

When he declined the invitation to visit the Balearic Islands, he added about British-Iberian relations in prehistory "I had indeed put together some nice slides of heeled cairns and stalled cairns which some of the party may not know, but seriously I doubt whether the apparent similarities in plan mean anything and had to take refuge in talking about indirect connexions through SOM [Seine-Oise-Marne] which can be recognized both in the Balearic cuevas and our later Skara Brae and then about Beakers and Khartoum" (FP- 29-8-1950). Years later he also mentioned "I think the resemblance of Mycenaean Tholos tombs to Los Millares[,] Antequera & Alcalá is perhaps exaggerated. Even when mainly covered with a tumulus, as at Bodia at to the Kakovatos, the dromos must always have been [?] up to the portal not lintelled over!" (FP- 20-1-1955).

Childe also mentioned Portuguese archaeology after his trip there (Fig. 4.7). He stated that he "also saw some dolmens, citanias, esculturas, and Vilanova San Pedro [Vilanova de São Pedro] (in heavy rain) and museums - So the trip was very instructive and enjoyable too. I have brought back from Vilanova some cljb [club?] rims quite like those of Scottish Neolithic pottery. Leisner has very nearly convinced me that there exist dolmens in Alentejo older than the mass of Copper Age plaque idols sandals, cylinder-headed pins, Beakers, etc. He has just dug a fairly intact one, but it already had a passage leading to a polygonal chamber that Daniel would call a perfect 'Pavian Passage Grave.' And anyhow I don't yet see how the mass of Copper Age material is to be spread out, nor what is to fill tye [the] subsequent gap till the 6th century. There must have been a stratigraphy at Vilanova that would have provided a clue – I saw a scrap in one corner, but there is not enough left" (FP- 12-1-1950). After his trip to Portugal during the Christmas holiday of 1949-50, Childe wrote on the similarities between British and Portuguese pottery (Childe 1950a).

Figure 4.8. Chide at the entrance to the Museu de Sanfins, northern Portugal, December 1949. From left to right: unknown, Childe, Colonel Mário Cardoso, Miss Marion Jennings, Mrs Ruth Jennings (wife of the British Consul in Oporto) (Harris 1994: fig. 2b). Reproduced with permission of the Institute of Archaeology (London).

Childe's interest in technology is also present in the letters, although it occupies a far less important position. In 1946, for example, he asked Pericot about rotary querns, on which he had published in 1943 ("If you can bring me any details - outlines and sections - of dated rotary querns I shall be very grateful; you have I think my little paper in Antiquity [(Childe 1943)]" (FP- 20-1-1946) – Childe had also discussed querns in his *Progress and Archaeology* (Childe 1944c) and he would come back to them in 1954). Also, after his trip to Portugal in the Christmas holiday of 1949-50, he mentioned that he had "been working on axes and adzes. I examined quite a lot of Portuguese 'Celts'. 40% to 45% are adzes – not more. But the practice of calling all stone celts 'hachas' 'Beile' 'axes' is most reprehensive and obscures a functional distinction which is generally quite easily recognizable if you see the implement in profile or longitudinal section – but that is hardly ever given. And of course grave-finds do not give a very reliable sample since an adze being the tool for finer work is more likely to be buried with its owner than an axe – unless the latter was a weapon. I think each corpse in Leisner's new dolmen was

given an axe and an adze" (FP- 12-1-1950). Childe would soon publish an article on this (Childe 1950b).

He also informed his Catalan colleague about work in progress. In addition to the comments on publications he was either writing or about to publish on Rinyo and in *The Dawn* (see above), he also wrote other observations about his own work. In 1951, for example, he gave details about a recent trip to Egypt and said "As I'm rewriting New Light on the Most Ancient East [the fourth edition came up in 1952 (Childe 1952)] I had to go out and see Maadi, El Omari & the Royal Excavations near Heluan [Helwan] – the latter have exposed real megalithic tombs of 1st Dynasty date – really substructures of early mastaba tombs built at the bottom of the shaft but using big limestone slabs instead of the usual mudbrick & timber" (FP- 14-1-1951). On 10 May 1951 he announced that he had found "the first imported Mycenaean sword from a barrow in Cornwall - in the Truro Museum 105 years unrecognized!" (FP- 10-5-1951), which he immediately published (Childe 1951a). In 1954 he also sent a postcard saying "I've been looking – in vain – for walls round Maes Howe [Maeshowe] – our finest passage grave" (FP- 10-8-1954). Other general comments that specify details about the archaeology and archaeologists of the British Isles were not related to his own work. Childe also advised Pericot to see the collections in Cambridge and the British Museum. He added that "we have a lot of very fine stuff that, though not Palaeolithic, is of interest to any one from Spain owing to its connections by Atlantic searoute with the Peninsula. I hope to show you some megalithic tombs too" (FP- 20-1-1946). This comment about the sea route is surprising, given the lack of importance it had in Childe's books (Díaz-Andreu 1998: 59).

Childe also made comments about British and European archaeology. In May 1943, explaining to Pericot what had recently been published, he pointed out that "Hawkes also published a book covering rather the same field as my *Dawn* but in places more fully though without any footnotes and in very difficult English. It is called 'The Foundations of Europe down to the Mycenaean Age' [(Hawkes 1940)] and is full of new and original ideas as well as facts; his treatment of megaliths will interest you particularly" (FP- 8-5-1943). To this he added: "There have also been published in Britain since 1939 Hallam L. Movius' 'The Irish Stone Age' (mainly Mesolithic but with an admirable summary of the Upper Palaeolithic in Britain too) by Cambridge University Press [(Movius 1942)] and 'Two Celtic Waves in Spain' by the British Academy [(Bosch Gimpera 1940b)]" (FP- 8-5-1943). (It is interesting to note that Childe

avoided mentioning the exiled professor Bosch Gimpera as the author of the latter article, probably to avoid causing Pericot any problems if the letter was censured). Years later he showed frustration at his lack of success in finding a particular object in France: "I came here to look for Tom Kendrick's [unidentified word] from Bennemont. But there is no place Bennemont and no Beaker from Beaumont nor anywhere else in any museum at Rouen!" (FP- 9-9-1949).

About Italian and Eastern European archaeology Childe noted: "I should like to see those rock-engravings and also the material from the Ligurian caves. Bernabo Brea is coming to tell us about them next month", and gossiped: "I hope he will be better than Laviosa Zambotti[,] who we had last year. She tried to talk 'English' which NO one could understand and anyhow what she said was very poor sense [however, about Childe's skills in other languages see Green (1981: 76)]. She entirely ignored all the evidence for making the Cetona culture very late Bronze Age which your recent finds from Serinya [(Pericot 1945d)] confirm" (FP- 5-2-1949). Regarding the archaeology of Eastern Europe, in 1955 he pointed out that while travelling in Bulgaria, Romania and Hungary he had observed that fine bone spatulae were as "regularly associated with Starcevo-Korös sites as the 'barbottine' (i.e. impresa [(sic) impressed]) pottery". He then suggested "I've just noticed that very similar spatulae turn up in Spain (in Sarsa) & South France (Chateauneuf) in association with cardial ware. I wonder if there be other cases of this association (I've written to San Valero Aparisi & Bernabo Brea too)". Childe indicated that the Starcevo culture was the oldest neo-culture in the Balkans "just as cardial marks the oldest neo in the W Med. And relations, between ceramica impresa & Starcevo barbotine ware are quite obvious at least in S Italy. Perhaps it's all one culture" (FP- 12-1-1956).

Gifts: Christmas turrón and a 'contribución'

It has been mentioned earlier in this chapter that very early on in their acquaintance – from1927 – the Pericots treated their friends the Kendricks in the same way as their English relatives at Christmas. Nobody else had the same treatment until after World War II, when other names were added to the list of *turrones* to send: Childe, the Hawkeses, the Burkitts and the Clarks. With regard to Childe, he acknowledged with many thanks the receipt of *turrones* at Christmas 1948 ("The *turrones* arrived at the beginning of the week and is quite delicious. Thank you ever so much for the most welcome present" (FP- 8-2-1949)), a year later, on 12 January

1950 ("How very thoughtful of you; thank you ever so much"), and similar comments were made in 1951, 1954, 1955 and 1956.

The only gift sent by Childe indicated in the letters relates to his attempt to participate in an homage organised for Pericot on the occasion of his twenty-fifth anniversary. Childe explained, on returning from one of his visits abroad, Egypt this time, that he had found "a printed circular inviting 'contribuciones' for something in your honour. Kendrick has got one too & we are both a little puzzled what it means exactly. We should both welcome the opportunity of being associated with any public or private testimony to your magnificent work. We at first thought contribucion meant a contribution to a Festschrift, but we hope it doesn't, since the circular, though dated October, reached us both this month & demands the contribucion this month too & neither of us have a sheaf of articles, ready with photos & footnotes for the press, worthy of so dear & respected a colleague as yourself. We hope on rereading the printed words that contribuciones mean pesetas or £ sterling. It is after all not unusual in England to subscribe these for a portrait of a distinguished colleague but of course there is a recognized sum & one doesn't want to appear either bombastic or miserly. And it may be a little difficult to explain to the Exchange Control what it is all about" (FP- 14-1-1951). Later on he explained "Alas, the Bank of England will not allow me to contribute to your well-deserved testimonial. They did let Kendrick send something, I gather under protest, but he is after all director of the British Museum, which is a relatively high post in the bureaucratic hierarchy. You will appreciate, in any case, that the omission of my name is due neither to meanness not to a failure to appreciate your magnificent contributions to our subject" (FP- 12-2-1951).

Politics

Daily practice: Politics with a big P and academia

It is known that Childe was one of the few archaeologists to actively oppose the Nazi regime and, in particular, the influence of its politics in the CISPP (Díaz-Andreu 2009: 97-100). The unsourced anecdotes Green provides are likely to belong to this period:

> The famous professor had a great sense of humour which was not appreciated by all his acquaintances; his enjoyment of jokes and pranks could be very childlike. Apparently he used to keep a halfpenny in his pocket to fool pickpockets: and once in Spain this trick was worth his

> while. On another occasion he deliberately packed his large suitcase with the bare essentials-plus a large pillow, to annoy the Spanish customs. He hated the Franco regime in Spain and always referred to the uprising as the revolution, a habit which did little to endear him to some Spanish colleagues (Green 1981: 114).

From Childe's death in 1957 until 1998, with the exception of Green above, no account of the relationship between Childe and his Spanish colleagues was published in the literature. The historiographers' silence is probably due to the assumption that someone as politically committed as Childe could not possibly have had regular contact with colleagues living under a right-wing dictatorship, let alone those with relatively important posts in the regime, such as Pericot and Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla. In fact, the possibility of such a relationship was denied by some (Alcina Franch 1987: 10-11). The erroneous preconception of the impossibility of any interest in Spanish archaeology on Childe's part also worked inversely: it was assumed that access to Childe's work had been impossible throughout the Francoist period, especially given that Childe had visited the Soviet Union three times (in 1935, 1945 and 1953 (Green 1981: 76-7, 101, 123-4)), a country demonised in Franco's Spain both directly and indirectly through the persecution of communists in Spain (Preston 1993: 523-9, 567-9).

In contrast to these perceptions, the letters reveal that the archaeologists did not avoid politics altogether, as one may have assumed given their opposing political views. Also, contrary to the assumptions made about Childe's scornful attitude towards his Spanish colleagues (see Green above), oral accounts tell us a different story. During 1952-4 Peter Gathercole, then a student at the London Institute of Archaeology, remembers having heard Childe referring very favourably to the work of some Spanish archaeologists, in particular that of Pericot, during his lectures, with no reference to politics (Gathercole pers. comm. June 2006).

The written evidence also indicates how wrong perceptions formed in the 1970s and 1980s are. The many reviews written by Pericot and others on Childe's work make it clear that Spanish archaeologists were well aware and up to date with his publications. Pericot also knew about Childe's publications on the USSR, as one of his reviews shows (Pericot 1944e). Childe did not hide his interest in the Soviet Union from Pericot and was explicit about some of his visits. In 1946 he exclaimed "My dear Friend, That you will be coming to visit Britain in April…is the best news I've

had since June (when I was invited to the U.S.S.R.)" (FP- 20-1-1946). He also commented that, "the international situation is not yet quite stable. After all a revolution does generally take some time!" (FP- 8-2-1949). Childe also included other references to politics in his letters. A few months after the Soviet Union had tested an atomic bomb in September 1949 and the US president Truman had ordered the development of a hydrogen bomb in January 1950, Childe commented, "we shall meet anyhow in Madrid in 1954 if no war intervenes" (FP- 29-8-1950). Childe, therefore, made comments, perhaps to provoke, but in daily practice separated politics and academia. This has also been highlighted by one of his former students in Edinburgh, Mr Howard Kilbidge-Jones, when pointing out that "Childe refrained from discussing politics with his students. The opportunity was there to create a 'cell' but never taken" (Thomas et al. 1994: 137).

It seems that the disentanglement of politics and academia could also be seen in Pericot's case. Thus, Pericot queried Childe about a work dealing with Spanish archaeology published by a Soviet archaeologist, A.V. Michulin (nowadays transcribed as Mishulin) (Mishulin 1950). Childe, however, admitted that he had not seen it "when I was in Russia in 1953, but perhaps I did not look close enough. While I have a channel by which a somewhat erratic exchange of periodical has been arranged, I do not know any means for exchanging individual books, but there is a Russian book shop in London, and sometimes if you order a book from it, it comes. I have ordered Michulin, and if it turns up I shall send it to you, but I can give no guarantee" (FP- 3-3-1955). Two months later he explained "The Russian bookshop in London has now had a reply from their suppliers in the U.S.S.R., and inform me that Antichnaie Ispania is unobtainable. I am sorry we cannot get this for you, though I doubt whether it would be very valuable" (FP- 6-5-1955). It may be worth indicating here that another one of Michulin's books, his *History of Antiquity**, was translated into Portuguese and Spanish and published in Brazil and Argentina soon after (Michulin 1957, 1958).

Pericot was not ignorant of Childe's political views. In his review of *What Happened in History*, he stated that it could be referred to as a book written under wartime conditions, which has "an acute sense of the social issues and points of view, which we shall restrain ourselves from judging" (Pericot 1944g)[26]. Years later, he acknowledged that in some of his works,

[26] Pericot's review of the archaeology of the USSR is intriguing (Pericot 1944e). Perhaps it could be understood in the framework of the political efforts undertaken

"Professor Childe subscribed to points of view which we could not accept", which he mentioned in his obituary, and added, "[h]is friends commented that his materialist interpretations made him appear as an extremist. Yet they gave little importance to this in comparison with his goodness and scientific honesty. What should really be emphasised in Childe was his sincerity, the wide range of sources he used, his synthetic vision of prehistoric problems and the importance he gave to their cultural and economic aspects. In this respect his work is first class and has built up a following" (Pericot 1957c: 298-9).

Internal politics in British and Spanish archaeology

Childe did not gossip in his correspondence with Pericot, but his letters provide us with insights into the internal politics and his views on British and Spanish archaeology. The conference on the Future of Archaeology in London on 6-8 August 1943 is mentioned, perhaps in an ironic tone, when he says: "I had immediately thereafter to go to London where I gave your greetings to Hawkes, Dorothy Garrod and others who send their cordial greetings in return. All are well and though mostly engaged on 'work of national importance[']found time to assemble at a congress in Burlington House to discuss the future of archaeological research in the British Isles" (FP- 8-5-1943). This conference, Chris Evans has argued, was an exercise in introspection at a time when the horrors of National Socialism were starting to be known and it seemed likely that World War II was going to be won by the Allies (Evans 1995: 314). During the conference, the involvement of the state in the organisation of archaeology was discussed. Clark seemed to be against much state control: in archaeology Britain was "years behind [Germany], but where has it led Germany, and where would it lead us?" (in Evans 1995: 315). However, Jacquetta Hawkes thought that "we must arrive at some proper relation between research and the treasury. What is the State except ourselves" (ibidem).

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by Spanish politicians at the end of World War II to reinvent the political alliances of the regime (Preston 1993: 523-9). Also, his review of *What Happened in History* (Pericot 1944g) should not be seen as an indication that Pericot may have been sympathetic to the Allied cause during World War II. Pericot's sympathies are not clear either from his correspondence or from any of the published correspondence by Bosch Gimpera (Gracia Alonso et al. 2002; Vilanova i Vila-Abadal 1998. On the production of *What happened...* see Gathercole 2000). I am grateful to Prof. Guliaev for the information about Aleksandr Vasil'evich Mishulin.

Childe's close circle of colleagues can be gathered from the names mentioned in his letters and the number of times these come up in the correspondence (information given in brackets). The names were those of Christopher (6) and Jacquetta Hawkes (2), Tom Kendrick (5), Dorothy Garrod (3), Grahame Clark (1), Miles Burkitt (1) and John Myres (1). It may be worth mentioning that from this group those most frequently mentioned are Christopher Hawkes and Tom Kendrick, who had studied, like him, at Oxford. This could be taken as a measure of friendship, although of course Pericot's interest in some people may have had an effect on who Childe mentioned in his letters. The only complaint in Childe's letters about another British archaeologist referred to the editor of the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, Henry M. Paton, although his name is not mentioned directly. Childe wrote regarding his publication of the archaeological site of Rinyo (Childe and Graham 1947): "it was ready two years ago, but, since I left the editorship of P.S.A.S. that publication has been scandalously slow. They will now at last produce a double-volume" (FP- 5-2-1949).

The correspondence regarding Childe's trip to Spain in 1947 makes it clear that he was well aware of the tensions in Spanish archaeology. Apart from this, however, the correspondence in the Pericot Archive does not give us much information about the internal politics of Spanish archaeology, probably a consequence of the absence of the letters written by Pericot. In a draft letter, however, the Catalan professor explained "We are preparing the summer campaign [in the Solutrian level of the cave of Mallaetas] in spite of the difficulties you now know, due to our interine questions" (FP- 18-6-1947). With this Pericot was most probably referring to his problems with Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla, the person in charge of permits and funds for archaeological excavations (see Chapter 2 and Díaz-Andreu and Ramírez Sánchez 2004). I found no record of Pericot having applied for permission to excavate Mallaetas during my research in the General Archive of the Administration (AGA Culture, boxes 217-219) and this seems to indicate that Pericot may have excavated without the necessary permission and without any funding from the Spanish state. However, we should not be surprised that he was able to do things his way: Pericot was excellently placed in Spanish cultural life (he was in constant contact with key ministers and civil servants) and this allowed him to ignore the difficult Martínez Santa-Olalla. This was easy in 1947, for Santa-Olalla's allegiance to the Falange faction, now in decline in Spanish politics, made him politically tainted. As Childe himself had experienced problems with Santa-Olalla at the time of his 1947 visit,

Pericot may have considered that he could hint about his own problems with him to the London professor.

Commenting on Taracena's death in 1951, Childe mentioned "besides admiring his archaeological work, I liked him personally very much indeed. It is a great loss to Spanish archaeology and I expect will be the occasion for a lot of nasty intrigue in respect of his national functions" (FP- 23-2-1951). And also, in a postscript, he congratulated Pericot "on getting Santa Olalla into your Committee" (FP- 23-2-1951). When in an official competition in 1954 Martínez Santa-Olalla lost his position at the University of Madrid to Martín Almagro Basch, Childe commented, "I imagine Almagro's appointment will cause quite a rumpus, and be a bitter blow to our other mutual friend" (FP- 3-3-1955). It seems that Childe was, again, being ironic, talking about friendship in relation to Santa-Olalla, especially after the events of 1952. Later that year Santa-Olalla had complained that Almagro had been elected to the Permanent Council of the CISPP instead of him. Childe had explained to Santa-Olalla that he, Hawkes and Keller-Tarnuzzer had voted for him instead of Almagro, not because they did not like Almagro, but because they did not think that it was right that the three members from Spain should come from Catalonia. However, he added that "on the other hand one must say that you are not known personally to the other members; as far as I know you have never taken part in a Congress session nor have you read any paper. Even science men are predisposed in favour of those who they have seen or heard! Naturally, after Madrid everything will be put right" (MuM-O ASO/28-78, 30-4-1952, French original, my translation). A few months later he wrote to Santa-Olalla thanking him for the honour of having been sent a diploma as a member *honoris causa* of the Seminar of Primitive History of Man at the University of Madrid. However, he added at the top "Would you please take note of … the order, established sixty years ago, of my names" (MuM-O ASO/28-77, 6-7-1952). He was polite but again most likely ironic.

Childe's retirement and trip to Australia

In 1956 Childe announced to Pericot, "in September I retire & this time in 1957 will be either in Australia or some other rather summer clime" (FP- 12-1-1956). On the day of his retirement, 3rd October 1956, he sent a letter to Pericot thanking him for his contribution to his Festschrift (Pericot 1955d). This was not his only letter on that day. Childe had felt so moved by the Festschrift that he apparently wrote to all contributors individually

(Green 1981: 142). In his letter Childe wrote: "On the very day that my official connexion with the Institute ended appeared the magnificent volume composed and designed by my colleagues in my honour. I am indeed proud[,] gratified & grateful to you all. And you I thank personally most sincerely for taking this opportunity to clarify for us the position of the microburin in the West Mediterranean" (FP- 3-10-1956). He did not know that Grahame Clark had had to harshly remind Pericot to send his contribution ("I know how busy you must be, but I would so much obliged if you could please let me have your contribution to the volume in honour of Prof. V. G. Childe. The papers are now going to the printers & I am anxious to get in the outstanding ones" (FP- Clark 14-11-1955, with similar notes sent on 21-11-1955 and on an undated missive). In his letter of October 1956 Childe also mentioned that, "I finished a completely new version of Dawn in June & am planning a visit to India in December" (FP- 3-10-1956).

In February 1957, on his way back from India (Green 1981: 145), Childe spent a fortnight in Gibraltar with a former student, Celia Topp, and her naval husband (Green 1981: 144-5). A year earlier Childe had written her a letter of recommendation to Pericot asking him to help her. "This will serve to introduce you to Mrs Topp, who has been one of my research students at the Institute of Archaeology, and who is now living for a time in Gibraltar. She has been working on the Irish Boyne culture, which has notoriously rather obscure connections in the Iberian Peninsula which she is trying to follow up. I shall be very grateful if you can give her any help" (FP- 13-2-1956). Indeed, Celia Topp had been a student at the Institute of Archaeology graduating in 1952. She had an unconventional background. She had spent most of her childhood in Turkey and started a degree at the Sorbonne, but she had interrupted her studies to marry Robin Topp, a Royal Navy offer, in 1936. Under Childe's supervision she had researched the Irish megaliths and, after her husband was transferred to Gibraltar, collaborated on the excavations of Gorham's cave.

However, it seems that Childe's letter to introduce Celia Topp was only sent by her after she met Pericot in Lisbon (FP- Topp 26-9-1957). While in Gibraltar with her, Childe visited numerous archaeological sites, including some in Spain. He also gave a lecture to the local archaeological society on "The Prehistory of European Society", the same title as the book he was writing (Childe 1958a). In addition, he played one of his favourite games, bridge, and also went to several parties (Green 1981: 145). Celia Topp was aware of Childe's depression. Edward Pyddoke, the Secretary of

the Institute of Archaeology, had written to her in January 1957 warning her about Childe's "low spirits" and comments about suicide (Childe had said that "he would in all probability throw himself over some convenient cliff"). Green also mentions, although she does not provide a source for this, that Childe "left Gibraltar giving the firm impression that he would not return". Despite this, on 26 September 1957, Mrs Topp wrote to Pericot: "On my return [from a conference in Lisbon where she had met Pericot] I found a long letter from Professor Childe who is still in Australia and who appears to be enjoying his trip there". As we know now, she was wrong. Having arrived in Australia on 14 April 1957 (his birthday) (Gathercole pers. comm. 27-3-2006), Childe was only to live six more months. He committed suicide on 19 October 1957.

In the following years Childe was only mentioned once in his British colleagues' correspondence to Pericot. Grahame Clark commented the following January that "we have had many bad losses - Childe, Crawford & Wace" (FP- Clark 10-1-1958).

F. E. Zeuner, J. D. Evans, B. Pell and the Porcar exhibition

The following pages describe and analyse the content of a series of letters sent by other London-based correspondents who did not correspond with Pericot as frequently as Kendrick and Childe. These letters were written by professionals and students or relate to events that took place in London and help to contextualise some of the activities undertaken by Pericot in Britain, which could not have been explained if only the letters exchanged with the major correspondents were analysed. To start with, a description will be made of the content of the missives received by Pericot from two scholars linked to the Institute of Archaeology, Professors Frederick Zeuner and John D. Evans. This section will also account for the correspondence he exchanged with one of Evans' students, Barbara Pell, who spent a year in Mallorca. Finally, the large number of letters concerning the organisation of two exhibitions of artistic and scholarly reproductions of Spanish prehistoric rock art in London in 1960 will be summarised.

Frederick E. Zeuner

Frederick Everard Zeuner, a German archaeologist born in Berlin in 1905, started his career as an entomologist with an interest in fossilised

arthropods and their dating and chronology during the Pleistocene – an interest that would eventually lead him to become an environmental archaeologist. He held university appointments in Geology and Palaeontology at Breslau and Freiburg-im-Breisgau in Germany, but was dismissed after his wife was classified as a 'non-Aryan'. In 1934 he moved to England where he became a research assistant in palaeontology in the Natural History section of the British Museum and in 1936 he was appointed to an honorary lectureship in Geochronology at the London University Institute of Archaeology (Clark 1989: 14). In 1945 and 1946 he published two major books on the Pleistocene period and geochronology and in January 1946 he was promoted to a professorship in Environmental Archaeology at the Institute of Archaeology, a position he held until his death in 1963 (Harris 2009; Simpson 2000-01).

Zeuner and Pericot only corresponded for three years, between 1951 and 1953. There are nine letters from Zeuner in the Pericot Archive folder with his name and a postcard he signed with many others in the folder assigned to Salvatore Battaglia's correspondence. Zeuner is also mentioned in eight letters written by others, the earliest of them sent by Childe. In 1949, as explained above, Pericot invited Childe to join the International Summer Course of Ampurias to be held in September that year and must have added that if he could not make it, perhaps he could suggest this to Zeuner. After explaining that he was unable to take up the offer, Childe indicated that "Zeuner is now in India. I doubt whether he will want to do another trip abroad, but I shall give him your message when he returns in May" (FP- Childe 5-2-1949). As Zeuner's presence is not mentioned as one of the participants of the Ampurias course later that year (Ripoll Perelló 1974), it is clear that he could not make it. It is likely, therefore, that the first time Zeuner and Pericot met was in London in 1951. With regard to this encounter Pericot would later explain to Hawkes that he had gone with Zeuner to the zoo (probably referring to a visit to the zoo, just a stroll across Regent's Park from St John's Lodge, where the Institute was then located) (BOD-Hawkes, box 59AB-60, 26-10-1951). The Barcelona professor promised to send Zeuner his monograph on Parpalló (Pericot 1942b) (FP- Zeuner 14-11-1951) and later he also promised to send his book *Primitive Spain** (Pericot 1950c) (FP- Zeuner 14-2-1952).

Even though they did not meet until 1951, Pericot had been aware of Zeuner's work for several years. He had summarised one of Zeuner's articles (Zeuner 1935) he had known because of an editorial note in *The Antiquaries Journal* 16(4), page 461, showing scepticism towards his

proposed dating of the Upper Palaeolithic (Pericot 1943b). A couple of years later he wrote a very positive review of *Dating the Past*, still showing some resistance to believing the dates for the Upper Palaeolithic and paying attention to Zeuner's comments on the dates for the Devil's Tower in Gibraltar and El Castillo (Pericot 1945-46a). He explained the changes to the chronological scheme made by Zeuner in response to several critiques (Pericot 1949h) and also gave some information about new advances in geochronology, including, among other issues, more information about Zeuner's proposals (Pericot 1949c). In the following years Pericot kept informed about his German colleague's work and bought and was sent new editions of his books (FP- Lindley-Jones 24-1-1951, FP- Lindley-Jones 27-3-1951; FP- Zeuner 16-1-1953). He mentioned Zeuner's work on Gorham's Cave in Gibraltar (Pericot 1953-54: 299) and summarised his chronological methods in at least one lecture in Barcelona in February 1953 (Pericot 1956c). Perhaps in connection with this lecture, Zeuner included some remarks about his research in a letter dated January 1953, commenting that he had

> just returned from Germany, where the Academies of Sciences of Mayence and Halle have recently elected me as a foreign member, and I collected very useful information about techniques of investigating archaeological sites. I now feel confident that in the course of time we shall be able to develop routine methods for the study of archaeological stratigraphy which will help us greatly in reconstructing environment and in the establishment of a proper chronology. The chief difficulty is adapting practices which were designed for other purposes.
>
> I have also been successful in getting the chronology of the Mousterian, Aurignacian and Magdalenian a step further. A paper on the Magdalenian is already in the press. (FP- 16-1-1953)

Zeuner was referring to his contribution to the Ninth Annual Report of the University of London Institute of Archaeology (Zeuner 1953b).

Pericot's failure to bring Zeuner to Spain in 1949 did not repeat itself in the early 1950s. Pericot invited the London professor to give a lecture in Barcelona in 1952, at the same time as Martínez Santa-Olalla made a similar offer (FP- 14-1-1952). Zeuner answered that he was unable to go to Spain in March but proposed sometime in the autumn (FP- 17-3-1952), a date that was later postponed to April 1953 (FP- 16-1-1953). Perhaps as a preparation to Zeuner's visit, on 11 February 1953 Pericot gave a lecture on Zeuner's discoveries at the Royal Academy of Letters of Barcelona [Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona] (Pericot 1956c). Zeuner's Spanish tour, most likely funded by the CSIC with a personal interest from

its director, Albareda (Pericot 1968b: 12), took him to many places. He first visited the site of Castillo in Santander, where he found that "the section at the entrance of the cave is completely overgrown". He wished that "one day the Consejo will be willing to finance the clearing of the section so that samples can be taken. The unusually long sequence of this cave makes it more important of all from the point of view of stratigraphy" (FP- 29-5-1953). Pericot asked Santa-Olalla to show Zeuner some of the Lower Palaeolithic sites on the terraces of the Manzanares River in Madrid and explained that Zeuner was going to give a talk at the Institute of Edaphology (MuO- 1974-001-8286, dated on 5-3-1953). Referring to his visit to the Manzanares terraces Zeuner said that he would "have liked to spend more time … where it would be quite possible to organize a proper investigation, if labour were available for the digging of trenches and some students for the mapping of the section" (FP- 29-5-1953). He arrived in Barcelona on 18 April (FP- 24-3-1953). He also went to Valencia, perhaps with Pericot, to visit Parpalló (FP- 29-6-1953). After Valencia, he continued his way south towards Los Millares and explained that he had found the site much more interesting than expected, "with the old soil beneath a barrow, indicating more ample vegetation in the Bronze Age" (FP- 30-4-1953). He later further explained that "under one of the barrows, the soil of the pre-barrow period is denser than today and it appears that the soil may have been deep enough for some agriculture. On the other hand, a lime crust, suggesting desiccation is present under the camp. I have collected material and hope to get some more information about the environment of this important site" (FP- 29-5-1953).

After Los Millares he travelled to the Spanish protectorate of Morocco. There, he found near Tetuan "a Lower Palaeolithic site associated with soils. The industry looks much like the Mousterian of Gorham's Cave, though one specimen might be Aterian" (FP- 29-5-1953). The mention of the Gibraltar cave reflected Zeuner's collaboration in the Waechter's excavations (Chapter 5)[27]. On his findings in Morocco, he further explained that "I have made a survey of the site, but more collecting will have to be carried out in due course, and I shall contact the Tetuan Museum. Perhaps they can do something about it" (FP- 29-5-1953). Zeuner did not attend the IV CISPP in Madrid in 1954, as he participated in Kathleen Kenyon's excavation in Jericho (Zeuner 1956b) (also in 1956

[27] Two years earlier, in a letter to Pericot, the excavator of Gorham's Cave had mentioned Zeuner's presence there (FP- Waechter 26-2-1951) and Pericot wrote about this collaboration (Pericot 1953-54). Zeuner published his results in 1953 (Zeuner 1953a).

(FP- Childe 3-3-1955)). Together with others he sent a postcard from the INQUA congress in Italy (FP- Battaglia, 27-8-1953).

In 1953 Pericot made some enquiries about the Spanish translation of the third edition of *Dating the Past* (FP- Zeuner 29-5-1953); however, when the Spanish translation came out (Zeuner 1952), the book had Almagro as the author of the prologue (Almagro 1956)[28]. Whether this is the reason for the abrupt end to the correspondence between Zeuner and Pericot is a moot point.

John D. Evans and his student Barbara Pell

There are four letters in the Pericot Archive written by John Davies Evans (1925-2011) and his name is included in another fourteen documents. He was first mentioned by Hawkes, who introduced him as a student of Grahame Clark thinking of going to Spain (FP- Hawkes, 28-12-1949). He spent the year 1950-51 in Spain, where he attended the International Summer Course of Ampurias (FP- Thompson, 4-9-?1950). After this he participated in a fieldtrip that lasted from 17 to 27 September. Together with some French, Italian and Catalan archaeologists they visited rock art sites in Catalonia, the Valencian country and Aragon (fig. 4.9).

Evans tried to write a PhD on the Siret collection, but a lawsuit from the Siret family against the National Archaeological Museum, where the collection was deposited, prevented him from accessing the material and he decided to move on. In August 1951 he was on his way to Ankara (FP- Daniel, 24-8-1951) and a year later he was in Malta (FP- Daniel, 16-1-1953), where he specialised in that island's archaeology (Evans 1959; 1971). Three years later, Antonio Arribas met Evans in Cambridge and visited the excavation of a barrow he was supervising (FP- Arribas, 8-7-1956). Evans succeeded Childe in the Chair of European Prehistoric Archaeology at the Institute of Archaeology in London (FP- Clark 10-1-1958). It was from his post as professor that he invited Pericot to give a lecture at the time of the Porcar Exhibition on prehistoric rock art in 1960 (see below). John D. Evans became the director of the Institute much later, after Peter Grimes, from 1975 to 1989.

[28] Zeuner's *The Pleistocene Period* (Zeuner 1945) was also translated into Spanish by a geologist, Manuel Muñoz Taboadela, in 1959.

Figure 4.9. John Evans at rock art site of Gasulla. From left to right - Upper row: 2. Ainaud. Middle upper row: 2. John D. Evans, 3. Luisa Vilaseca de Pallejá, 4. Martin Almagro, 5. Romain Robert, 6. Paolo Graziosi, 7. Alda Vigliardi. Middle lower row: 1. Mercedes Montañola, 2. Luigi Bernabò Brea, 3. Salvador Vilaseca Anguera. Lower row: 1. Herbert Kühn, 5. Luis M. Munné. Source: Fondo Vilaseca, Arxiu de l'Institut Municipal de Museus de Reus (IMMR).

In 1960 Pericot invited Evans to participate in the International Summer Course of Ampurias. In that year the course started on 5 September, moved to Menorca four days later and then to the island of Mallorca on 14 September. Evans joined them in the last destination and gave a lecture (FP- Evans 13-7-1960, Ripoll Perelló 1974: xviii). After the letters they exchanged about this, there was a gap of nine years before the next missive arrived. In the intervening years, however, Pericot received occasional news about Evans. The London professor was mentioned as the advisor for Charles E. Dortch's MA dissertation on the Magdalenian of southeast Spain, supervised by John Waechter (see Chapter 5) (FP- Dortch 2-3-1968), to which Pericot answered in a not very encouraging way (FP- draft of letter to Dortch 17-3-1968). Dortch replied thanking him for the letter which he had shown to Dr Waechter and both had decided

> that it is best that I do not research in the Upper Palaeolithic in Spain… Parpalló is your site, and I have no doubt that you will do an infinitely better job in the classifying than I could do at the present time. I will be most interested to see what sort of results you will reach in your re-investigation of

> the Magdalenian levels at Parpalló. I will also be looking forward to seeing your daughter's thesis on the Magdalenian in Spain. (FP- Dortch 25-3-1968)

He explained his future plans: to work on the upper levels of the Lebanese site of Ksar 'Akil (Dortch 1970). After his PhD, Dortch soon moved to Australia, joining the British migration of young archaeologists to the former British colony.

The correspondence between Pericot and Evans dated in 1969 relates to a lecture Pericot was going to give at the Institute of Archaeology in London, but which had to be cancelled in the midst of the increasing popularity of New Archaeology (FP- FP- Daniel 11-4-1969). As John Evans explained:

> Dear Professor Pericot,
>
> Fate seems to be against your Seminar! This morning I discovered that "Professor Kendall, who is Professor of Statistics at Cambridge, will be lecturing on 'Mathematical Problems in Archaeology' at University College (which is just next door to the Institute) at 2.30 pm. to-morrow afternoon.
>
> A lot of people will want to go to this, I think, and this would make it difficult to get the right audience for your Seminar. Regretfully, I think it would be best to drop your plans for this and hope that you will be here again in the near future! I'm very sorry about this, and wish I had known sooner about the other lecture.
>
> Would you be interested in hearing Kendall yourself? If so, we could meet at the Institute at 2.30 pm as planned and go across to University College. He has been very interested in archaeological problems for some time and should be stimulating at least.
>
> (FP- Evans 22-4-1969)

Prof. Kendall published on that same year an article on problems and methods in statistical archaeology in the first issue of the journal *World Archaeology* (Kendall 1969).

No cancellation took place three years later when Evans invited Pericot to give two talks to students, one on 'The Iberian Problem' in the morning and another on 'The Solutrean in Spain' in the afternoon of 14 March (FP- Evans 18-2-1972). It was Evans that Daniel suggested to review Pericot's book on the Balearic Islands (Pericot 1972) (FP- Daniel 1-3-1972).

In addition to the letters exchanged with Evans himself, there is another set of correspondence related to one of his students, Barbara Pell. She met Pericot in Barcelona in January 1959 and he must have suggested that she apply to the British Council for one of the CSIC scholarships to spend a

year in Spain studying the Bronze Age cultures of the Balearic Islands (FP- The British Council 18-2-1959, FP- 26-2-1959; FP- Pell 18-2-1959). At his request, she also started to complete a set of Mallorcan site index cards for him (FP- 18-2-1959, FP- 20-12-1959). She arrived on the island of Mallorca after Easter 1959 and she was asked by Guillermo Roselló Bordoy, who was shortly to become the director of the Museum in Mallorca, to participate in the salvage excavations of a series of structures including a talayot (a dry-stone prehistoric tower) at Valldurgent in Calviá (FP- 25-4-1959). She sent Pericot details of the excavation still in progress (FP- 4-8-1959) and announced the end of the work at the site on 20 November. She then explained that Prof. Evans had advised her to visit Malta in April or May in order to compare the two islands (FP- 20-11-1959).

Barbara Pell then went to Paris and from there she announced to Pericot that she was thinking of applying to the CNRS and asked him for a reference (FP- 27-4-1960), which he duly sent (FP- 25-5-1960). She also mentioned a translation for him (perhaps of his 1961 publication?). Pell arrived in Malta in early June (FP- 25-5-1960, 14-6-1960), but wrote saying that there did not "seem to be many points of contact or influence between Malta and Majorca (except certain detailed construction technique) but perhaps more with Minorca" (FP- 14-6-1960). She then visited Pericot in Barcelona and went back to Mallorca where the correspondence came to an end (FP- 18-7-1960). It seems that the only outcome of her research was a minor article published in a very local journal (Pell 1962) that was soon forgotten (Roselló Bordoy 1992: 13). Apparently she never published anything on Malta. Barbara Pell married a Mallorcan archaeologist, Guillermo Roselló Coll. In 1965 they were living in London and Pericot was asked to write a reference for her for a lectureship in Prehistory she had applied for at the University of Auckland (FP- 27-7-1965). Pericot must have been her husband's external examiner in the PhD viva examination (Rosselló Coll 1965-66), as he was officially informed about him having passed his PhD (FP- University of London 13-5-1966). A year later he was asked to write a reference for Rosselló's application for a Research Fellowship in Africa (FP- British Institute of History and Archaeology in East Africa 6-7-1966). He also wrote a reference for the British Council, but she explained that she had also applied for "a post in Barcelona but I now gather, from the London office, that I haven't much hope as Mr Whitworth prefers to appoint a man" (Barbara Rosselló 11-5-1967).

The Porcar exhibition

There are forty-five letters in the Pericot Archive that deal with the exhibition of Porcar's paintings. Thirteen of them are from Mr Leslie T. Good, a wealthy businessman with a builders' merchants' company[29] and a fortune partly derived from the liquidation of his firm in 1959. Five letters are from Michael Thompson, whose relation to Pericot while studying in Cambridge will be seen later in the book (Chapter 5). Thompson was the first to meet Good and introduced him to Pericot. Six were written by Prof. Javier de Salas, the director of the Spanish Institute in London[30], who was able to provide a lecture room for Pericot, but no space for the exhibition. Instead, two other London institutions were found for the exhibition, St George's Gallery and the Institute of Archaeology in London. Only three letters come from the first of them and there are none from Institute of Archaeology, probably because that exhibition was organised by Gale Sieveking, who was then working at the British Museum and who had been asked to mediate between all the parties involved. There are seventeen missives from him, the bulkiest set of correspondence about the exhibition.

However, Mr Leslie T. Good's interest in rock art had not begun in Spain, but in British Rhodesia (probably in the area of present-day Zimbabwe). Michael Thompson, who had finished his PhD on the Mesolithic of the Iberian Peninsula four years earlier (see Chapter 5), wrote to Pericot telling him that a friend of his, referring to Good, who had "been to see rock paintings in Rhodesia is coming to Spain at the end of this month to visit paintings near Castellón de la Plana" (FP- 3-5-1957). Although Domingo Fletcher Valls in Valencia had already been contacted, Thompson wondered whether Pericot could give Good some letters of

[29] (FP- Good 10-2-1959).

[30] At the time of Pericot's lectures in 1958 and 1960, the director of the Institute in London was the Barcelona professor, Javier de Salas Bosch (1907-1982, Xavier de Salas Bosch in Catalan), who had been Pericot's colleague in Barcelona and was in charge of the Spanish Institute in London from 1947 to 1961. The Spanish Institute (Instituto de España) was a Francoist institution established during the Civil War in 1938. It brought together all the academicians from the different National Academies, including those of History, Fine Arts and Language, to allow a good coordination among them. In London, the Spanish Institute was in charge of organising Spanish language courses (FP- Raymond Judd 22-7-1946). In 1951 Pericot gave the Institute's address in London to be used while he was in Britain (FP- Daniel 9-10-1951).

introduction (ibidem). On the visit to the rock art sites of Castellón[31] they were accompanied by the local artist and amateur archaeologist, Juan Bautista Porcar (1889-1974). The idea of organising an exhibition of Porcar's artistic reproductions of the rock art sites emerged either during the visit or more likely during Pericot's trip to London in January 1958 (FP- Good 12-2-1958). Pericot announced to Good that Porcar was ready (for the exhibition?) (returned postcard from Pericot to Good 29-12-1958). The British Museum also became involved (FP- Sieveking 27-6-1958). In February 1959 Good suddenly announced that he was liquidating his business and had no time for the exhibition. However, he explained that Mr Gale Sieveking of the British Museum was in charge of mediating between the director of the Spanish Institute, Javier de Salas, Professor John Evans from the Institute of Archaeology, Michael Thompson and the British Council. He confirmed that he was happy to contribute the first £100 towards the expenses of the exhibition (FP- Good 10-2-1959). Sieveking also got in touch: Salas was willing for the Spanish Institute to pay the travel expenses and accommodation of the Spanish team and offered to organise a talk, but asked to have the paintings sent before organising anything further (FP- 9-4-1959[32], FP- 7-7-1959, FP- 13-10-1959). Porcar, a painter, amateur archaeologist with a likening to prehistoric Levantine art and the Provincial Commissar of Archaeological Excavations for Castellon from 1941 to 1960, sent the paintings (FP-Good 6-7-1959), apparently nine of them (FP- Sieveking 13-10-1959).

However, the organisation of what should have been a simple exhibition soon became extremely complicated. As nine paintings did not seem to be many, Pericot suddenly explained that he had decided to also send about fifteen more reproductions of rock art paintings[33] from the area of

[31] The sites Mr Good wanted to visit in Spain included the most renowned sites in Castellón: several shelters in Morella la Vella, Valltorta, Cueva Remigia, Gasulla, Cingle de la Mola Remigia and Gasulla Gorge. In Valencia he planned to see the Cueva de la Araña; Cogul in Lérida; the Cueva Vieja in Alpera and the Cueva del Val Charco del Agua Amarga in Teruel (FP- Good 15-5-1957).

[32] Most letters by Gale Sieveking are classified in a folder with his name, with the exception of the letters written on 9 April and 4 May 1959, which are found in the British Museum folder.

[33] The numbers, however, do not seem to coincide. On 26 and 27 November Pericot made a list of the paintings sent, eight of Levantine and schematic motifs by José Alcácer Grau, who is not mentioned in the correspondence, and fourteen by Ripoll. With regard to Alcácer's reproductions, the transcription of this list (using the Spanish terms) includes: Abrigo del Ciervo (Dos Aguas, Valencia); Escena de lucha de Morella la Vella (Castellón); Composición grande del Barranco

Valencia by Alcácer and another by Ripoll of the Upper Palaeolithic paintings of northern Spain (FP- undated draft letter by Pericot, in Sieveking's folder). They were brought to London by a certain Tristram da Rosa, although Ripoll also took to England some of his own (extra?) reproductions of rock art. Pericot confirmed that all the paintings were for sale (FP- Sieveking 17-11-1959). To further complicate matters, in addition to the reproductions by Porcar, Alcácer and Ripoll, others by Jordá are also mentioned in a letter dated November 1961, many months after the exhibition (FP- Sieveking 27-11-1961, also Good 13-4-1962).

A year before the exhibition, the sponsor, Mr Leslie T. Good, paid a visit to Madrid. On this occasion Pericot organised a meeting between him and Almagro (FP- Good 10-2-1959) and also suggested that Sieveking invite Almagro to the exhibition (FP- Sieveking 17-11-1959). This raised a problem. Having heard about the event, Almagro then offered his own reproductions of rock art for display! However, Sieveking apologised saying that it was unfortunate that he had heard about his important collection so late that he could not possibly "obtain a larger exhibition gallery at such short notice" and therefore he would be unable to exhibit Almagro's copies in a proper manner (ibidem). Also, given that "the purpose of this exhibition is to exhibit Señor Porcar's work in copying the East Spanish cave paintings" perhaps one could think of organising an exhibition of his "own archaeological work on the paintings at a later date"

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de las Letras (Dos Aguas); Composición pequeña del Barranco de las Letras (Dos Aguas); Composición parcial de la Cueva de la Araña (Bicorp, Valencia); Figura aislada de la Cueva de la Araña (Bicorp); Signos esquemáticos de Peña Escrita (Tárbena); and Signos esquemáticos de Peña Escrita (Tárbena). Regarding Ripoll's drawings documenting Upper Palaeolithic rock art in northern Spain: Grupo de ciervos (Cueva del Castillo. Puente Vieago. Santander). Inédito (110x70); Figura de cáprido (Castillo). Inédito (85x65); Figura de jabalí o bisonte (Castillo). Inédito (50x65); Cabeza de bruja (Castillo). Inédito (35x38); Cabras (Castillo). Inédito (58x56); Figura de cierva (Castillo). Inédito (47x63); Bisonte (Castillo). Inédito (60x73); Ciervos superpuestos (Castillo). Inédito (58x60); Cáprido con trazos múltiples (Castillo) (70x80); Cáprido y cabeza de ciervo (Castillo) (53x82); Grabados indeterminados (Castillo) Inédito (55x60); Ciervo bramando (Altamira, Santillana de Mar, Santander) (65x70); Antropomorfos (Altamira) (70x35). Antropomorfos (Altamira) 70 x 48).Although only fourteen reproductions are linked to Ripoll, after the exhibition Good mentioned on a couple of occasions seventeen unsold pictures by him (FP- Good 11-7-1961, 23-8-1951). It seems, however, that Good knew that some were by Alcácer (and Jordá?), as, when he first mentioned the unsold pictures, he explained that he had bought one by Alcácer (FP- 26-9-1961).

(ibidem). He also explained that Pericot had advised him to invite Almagro "as the foremost specialist in the study of Spanish cave art" (FP- Sieveking 17-11-1959, copy of letter sent to Pericot on 31-12-1959).

In the end there were two exhibitions, one of Porcar's paintings at St. George's Gallery, which had been lent free of charge (FP- Thompson 15-11-1959), and a second exhibition with Alcácer, Ripoll and Jordá's reproductions at the Institute of Archaeology (FP- Good 11-7-1961; Sieveking 25-11-1959; Erskine 19-4-1962). Thompson was invited to write a catalogue. The exhibition was held from 2 to 27 February 1960. Pericot arrived with Porcar and Ripoll two weeks later and spent a week in London during which he gave lectures, the first at the Institute of Archaeology on 15 February and another at the Spanish Institute three days later (FP- Metford 8-2-1960). Pericot and Ripoll also lectured at the University of Bristol, an event organised by the departments of Ancient History and Archaeology (Prof. Cook) and Spanish (John Metford) (FP- Metford 8-2-1960, 24-2-1960).

Most of the archaeologists who attended Pericot's lectures in London did so at the Institute of Archaeology. There he had in the audience one of Christopher Hawkes' former students, Nancy Sandars, who was then writing her book *Prehistoric Art in Europe* (Sandars 1968) (FP- Sandars 2-2-1960) and also perhaps one of Hawkes students at the time, Michael Walker (FP- Hawkes, 25-2-1960) (Chapter 6). Also among the attendees was Jacquetta Priestley, formerly Hawkes, who announced that a piece he had sent her (presumably on the exhibition and/or the lectures?) had arrived too late to be published in *The Observer* that weekend and unfortunately would have to be printed the following week (FP- Priestley 12-2-1960). Perhaps by chance, Christopher Hawkes did not attend the talk, as he explained that the negotiations regarding the situation of archaeology at Oxford had prevented him from attending (FP- Hawkes, 25-2-1960).

In addition to the lectures, Pericot was invited to appear on television, something that had been organised by Leslie T. Good and Mr Robert Erskine, the gallery owner (FP- Good 1-2-1960, 3-2-1960). Pericot was interviewed on Tonight on Tuesday 16th February 1960. He received a letter of thanks ("We did love having you on the programme, and you made the subject itself as new as action painting - and more alive. I do hope we will have a chance of interviewing you again some time, and hope you enjoyed the occasion at least a little as much as we did" (FP-

BBC (Cynthia Judah) 15-3-1960). The only comment we have about this is a positive one, "My mother said that the television broadcast (BBC) was a great success, she only wished that it had gone on longer, feeling that you filled your audience with a great enthusiasm on the subject and a great desire to know more" (FP- Barbara Pell 4-3-1960). Some information about the exhibition was also published by the Illustrated London News (FP-Thompson 3-4-1960).

The exhibitions were a relative success. Sieveking commented that they had been well attended and received a lot of attention in the press (FP- Sieveking 7-3-1960). Leslie T. Good stated that all the expenses were easily covered (FP- Good 26-9-1960). All the catalogues and five of Porcar's paintings had been sold (two of them purchased by Good himself) (FP- Thompson 4-3-1960, Good 26-9-1960). As for the unsold paintings, Good told Pericot that he had been able to buy them at a discounted price and was planning to donate them "to the British Museum, the Horniman and a couple of other Museums that have Prehistory collections" (FP- 26-9-1960). In contrast, most of what had been exhibited at the Institute (reproductions by Alcácer, Jordá and Ripoll) remained unsold and were sent to the owner of the St George's Gallery (ibidem). The accounts relating to the exhibition were not closed for a long time, which caused some annoyance (FP- Erskine 28-9-1960; Good 3-5-1961, 19-4-1962), and the paintings exhibited at the Institute of Archaeology were still in England in July 1961, when Good and Pericot met there (FP- 25-7-1961). However, Good had lost trace of the whereabouts of Porcar's paintings, only to discover that they were in the Warwick Museum (FP- 23-8-1961) (in fact, Thompson had informed Pericot of this on 3 April 1960). The accounts with Porcar were then cleared when Good paid a small sum for all the unsold paintings (FP- Sieveking 27-11-1961, Good 13-4-1962).

There seems to have been some miscommunication, as Pericot asked Thompson to send the unsold pictures to Austria (FP- 2-7-1960), to the congress on pre-historic art held by the Wenner-Gren Foundation that he organised with Ripoll (see Pericot and Ripoll Perelló 1964). Mr Erskine attempted to do this, but the person responsible at the foundation only replied after the Congress had taken place (FP- Erskine 28-9-1960). In the end, about nine paintings went to the Wenner-Gren Foundation in New York (FP- Good 13-4-1962) and eight were retained by Good "for distribution among Museums in England" (ibidem). I suspect that a reproduction with Porcar's signature that was until very recently in the Spanish Department at Leeds and, if I am not mistaken, another that was

on display in the Archaeology Department at Southampton at least in the early 1990s, originate from the 1960s exhibitions.

The last letter received about the exhibition kept in the Pericot Archive was signed by Good and written on 16 August 1962. After this, there was still some communication between Good and Pericot a propos some practical advice Good needed for his visit to Les Eyzies (FP- Good 22-8-1962, 6-11-1962). Three years later, on 12 February 1965, Pericot received a letter telling him that Leslie T. Good had passed away two days earlier (FP- Harold L. Good 12-2-1965).

Pericot in London – an overview and a study of impact

This chapter has shown that Luis Pericot established a varied range of relationships with archaeologists living in London. These, as happened in the cases of Cambridge and Oxford (Chapters 5 and 6), mainly represented a selection of scholars in high status positions. In contrast to these other cities, however, his London correspondents did not only work in the university, but came from a wider range of workplaces: in addition to the Institute of Archaeology, they were based in other establishments such as the British Museum and the Society of Antiquaries. During his stays in the British capital, Pericot also benefited from the institutions run by the Spanish state there, in particular the Spanish Institute (Instituto de España), a Spanish governmental agency with a similar role to that of the British Council. Luckily for Pericot, for fourteen years (1947-1961) the Spanish Institute was headed by a Catalan scholar who had been Pericot's colleague in Barcelona in the early 1940s and who had been happy to invite him. London also served as an occasional meeting point with other archaeologists with whom he established links in Britain, although as these were mainly based in Cambridge and Oxford, most of these encounters will be explained later in the book. The appropriateness of inserting the correspondence with Childe in this chapter is a moot point, as the Australian was based in Edinburgh for many years, but the reasons behind his inclusion have already been explained in the introduction.

There are two major periods in the relationships established between Pericot and his London colleagues; these are divided by the years of the Spanish Civil War and World War II. During the first period he built links with two of his major correspondents in Britain, Kendrick and Childe. After the wars, his new links were more varied but less profound. As explained in this chapter, the earliest friendship established by Pericot in

London – and indeed in the whole of Britain – was with Tom Kendrick, who at the time of their first meeting in December 1926 was still an Assistant in British and Mediaeval Antiquities at the British Museum. Their friendship lasted for five decades, until their deaths a few months apart in 1978 (Pericot) and 1979 (Kendrick). In the early years this acquaintance greatly benefited Pericot academically. Kendrick introduced him to both Gordon Childe and Christopher Hawkes, Pericot's other two key correspondents in Britain. When they first met, Kendrick and Pericot shared an interest in the megalithic world; Kendrick reviewed Pericot's publication of his PhD thesis on the Catalan megaliths (Kendrick 1926) and Pericot Kendrick's book on *The Druids* (Pericot 1930b). Soon, however, their areas of interest diverged and Kendrick became increasingly concerned with fields of study outside archaeology. Later on, despite the differences in their interests, Pericot and Kendrick kept in touch. This makes this correspondence extremely valuable, as it gives us some revealing glimpses of Kendrick, a now almost forgotten scholar, but one who linked his whole professional life to the British Museum and served as its director for a decade between 1950 and 1959. Also, Kendrick's letters to Pericot and other documents now kept in the British Museum highlight some of the dilemmas British (and American) archaeologists had to face in the years before and during World War II[34].

The acquaintance with the other important scholar discussed in this chapter, Gordon Childe, also greatly helped Pericot academically, especially in the late 1940s and early 1950s. The connection between them should not however be seen as an exception in Childe's universe. Gordon Childe established many similar contacts with a wide range of archaeologists in Europe and beyond. This practice constituted a vital part of his academic experience. He was an obsessive scholar who lived for archaeology (from his thirties seemingly more than for politics) and for whom discussion about academic matters with others was critical. His letters stood out from those of other archaeologists for their scientific content and the frequent announcements of his newest publications. His travels were a crucial element in his quest for knowledge of the prehistoric past. Childe paid special attention to Pericot around the mid-1940s, when he invited him to lecture in Edinburgh. This peak in his regard for Pericot is no doubt related to a scholarly matter – the high esteem in which he held Pericot's work at Parpalló and the extensive three-volume publication on it in 1942, which he reviewed. The detailed description of an Upper

[34] For a discussion of his issue regarding Gordon Childe on the basis of his correspondence with Myres see Díaz-Andreu (2009).

Palaeolithic sequence in Eastern Spain was acknowledged by Childe as a key step forward in the knowledge of that period (Childe 1944a). Not only did Childe invite Pericot to lecture in Edinburgh, but he also encouraged Garrod to bring the Barcelona professor to speak in Cambridge and probably also organised Pericot's lecture at the Society of Antiquaries in London[35].

Pericot also established links with other academics in London, but these were clearly minor in comparison to Kendrick and Childe. He corresponded for a short time with Frederick Zeuner and for a longer time, but very occasionally, with John D. Evans. He unsuccessfully tried to initiate a London student, Barbara Pell, into the archaeology of the Balearic Islands and organised a multi-authored exhibition of reproductions of Spanish prehistoric rock art in London. All of the above took place after World War II. Regarding the first, Pericot reviewed some of Zeuner's works and talked about it in a few publications; he then arranged for Zeuner to visit and lecture in Spain in 1953. The reason for the sudden break in the correspondence is not clear, but it may be due to Zeuner establishing links with the rising star of Spanish archaeology, Martín Almagro Basch. The acquaintance with John D. Evans was of a very different nature. Pericot knew of him early on, when in the early 1950s Evans went to study with the most powerful archaeologist in Spain, Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla, without realising that doing so would close many doors to him – which is basically one of the main factors behind him moving his interest to Malta. When they got in touch again, Evans had succeeded Childe in the Chair of European Prehistoric Archaeology and from that position he helped in arranging for part of the rock art exhibition to be displayed at the Institute of Archaeology in London. He also invited Pericot to give a lecture and received an invitation – which he accepted – to participate in the International Summer Course of Ampurias that year. Ten years later, in 1969, Pericot received another invitation to give a talk, but on this occasion his lecture had to be cancelled. He was compensated three years later, when he gave two talks to students.

In total, Pericot gave six lectures in London, the first came twenty years after his first visit and the last two were in 1972 (Fig. 3.10). It is the aim of this part of the chapter to consider the academic impact of these talks.

[35] There is a less likely possibility: that the invitation to lecture at the Society of Antiquaries was related to Pericot having sent that institution the first volume of his *History of Spain** (Pericot 1934a) (FP- letter in the British Council (Madrid) folder, 5-7-1946).

Lectures obviously help those attending to increase their knowledge of aspects about which they know little and there is no doubt that Pericot must have been successful in this, for he was seemingly a good speaker. There are other ways of looking at the impact of talks, however, by measuring the interest they raise for future research projects. This type of impact, however, is not only related to the speaker's degree of conviction, but also to the perception others have of them, the socio-political circumstances in which the talk takes place, the location where the talk is given, the nature of the institution where this exchange of ideas is undertaken and the disposition of the audience.

As regards the first of these, the lecture at the Society of Antiquaries in London in April 1946, this was one of three given throughout England. It would be fair to say that the lack of success it had in London concerning future projects was shared at the other two venues – Edinburgh and Cambridge. This should not come as a surprise in the context of a depressed Britain still in its first year of the post-war period. In addition, in the case of London there were other problems: students were probably not allowed access to the Society of Antiquaries and in any case their numbers were very low, as one would expect for the academic year of 1945-46. Moreover, the institution at which archaeology was taught, the Institute of Archaeology in London, at that time had research as its main aim and education was only regarded as having a secondary role[36]. The next time Pericot gave a lecture in London was in 1951 and that did not have much impact either. Hawkes, not Childe, in his role of president of the Prehistoric Society was probably involved in organising this (Chapter 6). This talk may have been attended by the Oxford student, Margaret Smith, but in any case the event was not important per se, as she had already shown some interest in Spain a few months earlier.

[36] A series of postgraduate diplomas was taught, but no PhDs or UG courses (the BA would start in 1968) (Harris 1997-98: 3).

Pericot also gave talks at the Spanish Institute in 1958[37] and 1960[38], but perhaps because of the place where these lectures were given, they do not seem to have attracted archaeologists[39] and therefore their academic impact was minimal. The correspondence only mentions a certain F.B.C. Bramington, who contacted him the day after the lecture to ask him about a 'Temple of the Sun'. He had read about it in the book *Atlantis in Spain* written by the American fringe archaeologist, Elena Whishaw (1857-1937) (Belén Deamos in Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009a). She had located it under the Abades Street in Seville. As Bramington explained, however, someone had indicated that it was in fact part of a Roman sewer and that instead of the 'Temple of the Sun' was the 'Temple of Shadows'. He finished his letter asking whether Pericot agreed with the latest opinion, as if he did "another of my romantic illusions is shattered!" (FP- Bramington 21-1-1958).

The lecture in 1960 at the Spanish Institute was also accompanied by another at the Institute of Archaeology, as well as two more at the University of Bristol (one of them by Ripoll) and by Pericot's appearance on BBC television. All these events were connected to the exhibitions of Porcar's paintings inspired by Levantine rock art at St George's Gallery in London and of Alcácer, Jordá and Ripoll's reproductions at the Institute of Archaeology. It may well have been at this time that the translation into English of Pericot's book on rock art was planned (Pericot 1950a; Pericot et al. 1969). Despite this, the archive does not give us any indication as to whether all these events served to inspire either the up-and-coming or the

[37] This lecture may be connected to the stay of Pericot's daughter, María Luisa Pericot Raurich, in London between 1958 and 1961 (Eileen Cole pers. comm., 9-9-2009), although comments about her stay there only start a few months after and continue for about two years (FP- Burkitt 22-12-1958; Pericot's draft letter to a returned postcard from Pericot to Good 29-12-1958; Hawkes 8-1-1959; Blance 23-2-1959; Clark 27-2-1959 and 18-4-1959; Thompson; 4-3-1960; B. Pell 27-4-1960; Good 23-8-1961).

[38] He rejected an offer to lecture at the Spanish Institute in the spring of 1965 (BOD-Hawkes, box 21, 13-8-1965). In 1968 he proposed giving a lecture there but was too late to be included in the programme (FP- Spanish Institute 16-12-1968). Another attempt to give a talk at the Spanish Institute in 1972 also seems to have failed (FP- Spanish Institute 11-1-1972), as Pericot was in Britain in March and he had been invited for January.

[39] Although he was invited to have dinner at the house of his friend Kendrick, then director of the British Museum (FP- 16-1-1958). It could be speculated that if Gale Sieveking became involved in mediating among the parties organising the rock art exhibitions a few months after this dinner, this was at Kendrick's request.

then-practising generations of researchers. The lack of academic interest in open-air rock art in Britain, where professionals largely ignored the subject until much later (the 1990s), may have influenced the low return of these efforts in terms of upcoming research.

There were only three students from London (one of them officially from Oxford) who took an interest in Spanish archaeology around the 1960s. One did so months before the rock art exhibition. Her name was Barbara Pell and the letters indicate that she was not present at his talk in London in 1960 (she was in Mallorca). The letters do not give any clues as to why she first visited Pericot in Barcelona in January 1959, but perhaps her interest started after she read Pericot's first book on the archaeology of the Balearic Islands (Pericot 1958a). When she first met Pericot he must have advised her to apply for a grant to spend a year investigating the Bronze Age period in the Balearic Islands. She obtained it, but after a year in Mallorca, however, the outcome of her grant was not successful in terms of the academic results produced. Another student, who at this time began to be supervised by appointment by John D. Evans, was Michael Walker (Chapter 6). As all the correspondence in the archive referring to him is related to his period at Oxford, we can only guess that his change of supervisor was at least partly responsible for the lack of further communication with Pericot. The third student, Charles E. Dortch, contacted Pericot in March 1968, saying that he was planning to write an MA dissertation on the Magdalenian of southeast Spain, supervised by John Waechter. The correspondence makes it clear that Pericot discouraged him, a reaction that can be understood when we consider that Pericot was close to retirement and planning to return to Parpalló. Only a few years later, however, he allowed a Cambridge PhD student, Iain Davidson, to work on the material, although he served as his official supervisor for a while (FP- Higgs 28-6-1974).

After his 1960 lecture, Pericot did not return to London until nine years later, in April 1969. By then, however, it seems that he had lost the potential to impact the new generations of archaeologists (although this assertion will be qualified in Chapter 5). He was almost in his seventies and close to retirement (he retired on 2 September that year, on the day of his 70th birthday). More importantly, his efforts in finding funds for others, mainly in America, and his many administrative roles had affected the quality of his research. Although his book on Parpalló (Pericot 1942b) had been widely read in the English-speaking academic world, nothing he published afterwards was perceived to be as significant to the development

of archaeological knowledge. His book *Primitive Spain** (Pericot 1950c) still received some attention, mainly as a useful first approach to Spanish archaeology, but neither of his other major publications was equally well received, despite their very wide range of subjects: rock art (Pericot 1950a), the Moroccan Palaeolithic and Mesolithic (Pericot 1953b), the archaeology of the Balearic Islands (Pericot 1958a) and Iron Age Iberian archaeology (Pericot 1962b; 1979)[40]. After Parpalló and *Primitive Spain**, if Pericot was read at all – and there is not much evidence of this – it must have been restricted to the English translations of his work on rock art (Pericot et al. 1969) and the Balearic Islands (Pericot 1972) (Chapter 5). However, by the time the first of these translations was published and he returned to London in April 1969, Pericot's understanding of archaeology was perceived as old-fashioned[41]. Significantly, his talk at the Institute of Archaeology in 1969 had to be cancelled because another had been organised at the same time on 'Mathematical Problems in Archaeology' and the head of the Prehistory Department, John Evans, did not want to risk Pericot not having an audience. His next visit to London was in July 1971; probably because of the time of the year, there is no indication that lectures were considered on this occasion. In 1972, however, he spoke twice at the Institute of Archaeology but, once again, his lectures do not seem to have had any academic repercussion.

Pericot's lack of impact on the archaeologists of London was not only the fault of the circumstances (the post-war years) or his own lack of ability to continue to be active in research. Rather, it was also a consequence of the institutions existing in London at that time: the Society of Antiquaries, closed to everyone but a select group of professionals, the British Museum, where neither teaching nor apparently lecturing took place, and the Institute of Archaeology, for most of this time mainly a research institution, where teaching had a secondary role and where a BA only started in 1968 (Harris 1997-98: 3), almost at the end of Pericot's professional life. In the discussion on the minor impact Pericot may have

[40] In addition, he took over the publication of the *Fontes Hispaniae Antiquae* that Bosch had encouraged before the Civil War (Schulten and Pericot 1952a; b; Schulten et al. 1959) and published a series of handbooks for university students and the general public (Obermaier et al. 1955; Pericot and Ballester Escalas 1963; Pericot and Maluquer de Motes 1969; Pericot and Martín 1974; Pericot and Tarradell 1962). In English, he edited the conference of the Wenner-Gren Foundation he had organised with Ripoll (Pericot and Ripoll Perelló 1964).

[41] This is the impression that I consistently had from the opinions given by the then young archaeologists who met him.

had on the future archaeologists being trained at the latter institution, it may also be worth considering the role of its directors. Childe organised two of the talks given by Pericot in London, although never at the Institute of Archaeology, despite the fact that at the time of the second lecture he was the director of that institution. The next director, Peter Grimes, who headed the institution for two decades (1956-1975), was exclusively interested in British archaeology and may have influenced the narrower perspective it took, despite some of its staff having interests elsewhere. Pericot's talks, however, were helpful in introducing archaeologists living in London to the developments taking place in Spanish archaeology, an area about which not much was known in Britain.

The variety in the nature of contacts seen in this chapter contrasts with the homogeneity of Pericot's links with archaeologists based in Cambridge and Oxford, who were all working for an academic institution, about which the next two chapters deal. The institutions in each place, and their circumstances, therefore, marked very different trajectories in the relationships established between the Barcelona professor and his British colleagues.

CHAPTER FIVE

CAMBRIDGE

Introduction

This chapter examines the correspondence of Prof. Luis Pericot with five of the main protagonists of Cambridge archaeology: Miles Burkitt, Dorothy Garrod, Gertrude Caton Thompson, Grahame Clark and Glyn Daniel. However, other names will come up during the discussion, many of them of Cambridge students (Michael W. Thompson, Iain Davidson and others) and a few of scholars who also lectured at the university (Eric Higgs). The earliest document contained in the archive that refers to Cambridge is dated 1927, although with the exception of that and three others, the rest of the more than one hundred missives belongs to the period after World War II. Before that, Pericot only exchanged information with Miles C. Burkitt and their communication ended with an undated letter possibly written in 1933. After World War II, however, his correspondence with Burkitt became relatively frequent. Its content included comments on the Palaeolithic sites of Castillo and Parpalló, Burkitt's involvement in the International Summer Course of Ampurias in 1951 (the only non-professor to be invited) and Pericot's visits to Britain.

After the world conflict, Pericot expanded his contacts to include new members of the Cambridge academic community. He exchanged a few letters with two women based there, the only ones discussed in some detail in this volume, Dorothy Garrod and Gertrude Caton Thompson. It is important to note that the correspondence with the former only started when she was made a professor. As he did with all the scholars of her standing, he invited her to the International Course of Ampurias, although she declined the invitation. In 1951, however, she accepted the invitation to visit the cave of Parpalló in Valencia, where she went together with others, including John Waechter, at the time of his excavation of Gorham's Cave in Gibraltar. However, when she resigned her chair in 1952, communication between her and Pericot practically came to an end. In the case of Caton Thomson, Pericot got in touch with her after Childe

alerted him to her interest in the Aterian. However, the correspondence was soon cut short by her retirement in 1956.

In contrast to the limited correspondence with Garrod and Caton Thompson, the number of missives received from the last two academics discussed in this chapter, Grahame Clark and Glyn Daniel, was much greater and similar to that received from Burkitt. Clark sent him thirty-eight letters (although his wife was responsible for ten of them), most of which dealt with invitations and visits they made to each other's countries. They met on at least eight occasions: four times in Britain, three in Spain and one in Japan. In addition to this, the letters tell us that Clark made at least two more trips to Spain that were not organised by Pericot. He also sent Pericot a PhD student, Michael Thompson, for six months – October 1951 to March 1952 – asking the Barcelona professor to officially supervise him while he was in Spain. In the late 1950s Clark's attitude towards Pericot changed, probably because he became closer to the new professor in Madrid, Martín Almagro.

Pericot's last major correspondent from Cambridge was Glyn Daniel. There was an initial peak in their correspondence during the early 1950s, mainly in relation to megalithic issues, but it was only in the 1960s and early 1970s that the request to Pericot to write a book on the archaeology of the Balearic Islands led to a more frequent epistolary exchange between them. However, it is clear that Pericot never held Daniel in high esteem; he never invited him to participate in the Ampurias course and only sent him *turrón* at Christmas after he had been appointed to the chair. Despite this, the content of Daniel's letters reveals aspects that make him unique among all the main correspondents discussed in this book: in him we have someone who is still ascending the status ladder and who has to ask for things that others are given. He also stands out for his links with publishers and the media and his kindness to students seems atypical, with the other exception perhaps being Hawkes. He frequently asked for advice to pass on to Cambridge students, even when they were being supervised by others. The correspondence, therefore, shows a diversity of personalities and reflects the muddle of interests and incessant negotiations that characterise social relationships between scholars, as well as the continuously changing circumstances in the human network that makes up the academic world.

Miles C. Burkitt

Pericot had a long-lasting epistolary exchange with Miles Crawford Burkitt (1890-1971), spanning from the 1920s to the 1970s. There are 30 letters and postcards to Pericot from Miles Burkitt and 16 from his wife Peggy (Margaret Isobel Fry (www ny)). Only a draft of one of the letters sent by Pericot is kept in the archive. They cover the period from 1927 to 1971, although only four of them are dated before World War II. The frequency of the letters reached its peak in 1951, corresponding to the invitation to attend the International Summer Course of Ampurias. After that time they kept up a steady correspondence, although none of their exchanges was in any way crucial to their academic lives.

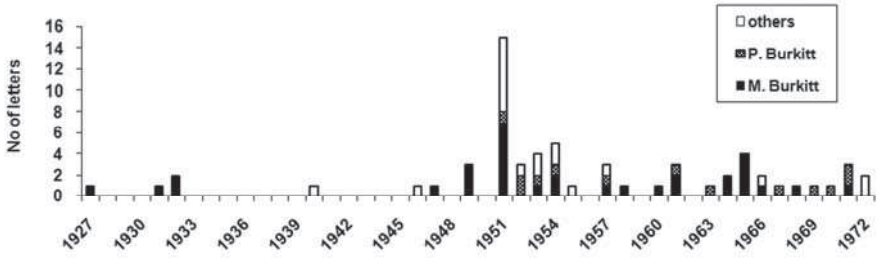

Figure 5.1. Letters in the Pericot Archive from Miles Burkitt (black), Peggy Burkitt (bricks) and others who mention Burkitt (white).

Burkitt was nine years Pericot's senior. He was born in 1890 in Cambridge, where his father, Francis Crawford Burkitt (1864-1935), became a university lecturer in palaeography in 1903, being promoted two years later to the Norrisian Chair of Divinity at Cambridge (1905-35) (www ny). Importantly for his son's future, he included antiquities amongst his many interests and had been involved in setting up a museum of archaeology in Cambridge (Smith 2009b: 15-17). Miles Burkitt was educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he read Natural Sciences, although the subject does not seem to have attracted him as a career (www ny). He became interested in archaeology at the Sedwick Museum through the professor of geology at the time, Thomas McKenny Hughes, and his assistant, the lecturer John E. Marr (Clark 1989: 34).

In 1913, Miles Burkitt attended a lecture on Palaeolithic art given by the French archaeologist, Abbé Henri Breuil (1877-1961), and he was allowed to join his excavation of El Castillo cave in Northern Spain (Breuil 1925:

xiv). This excavation was undertaken by Breuil together with his colleague at the time at the Parisian Institute of Human Palaeontology, the German Palaeolithic specialist, Hugo Obermaier (1877-1946). Other scholars involved in helping during the 1913 season were the French palaeontologist, Teilhard de Chardin (1881-1955) and the American archaeologist, Nels Nelson (1875-1964) (Cabrera Valdés et al. 1996: 178; White 2006). The Castillo excavation had an effect on all three of these visitors. Teilhard de Chardin, who had started working on Tertiary mammals in the palaeontology laboratory of the National Natural History Museum (Musée National d'Histoire Naturelle) in Paris, then moved into human palaeontology, and Nelson, after the Castillo excavation, went on to be the first to apply stratigraphic dating to an archaeological site in the United States, at San Cristobal Pueblo in New Mexico (Givens 2001; Reyman 1989: 45). In the case of Burkitt, Castillo would be a key experience in his life. After it he continued assisting Breuil, crossing the Spanish-French border to classify material from Laussel in the Dordogne and he also helped in the excavation of Gargas in the Hautes-Pyrénées. After some time in England, he returned to Spain from January to March of the following year, accompanying Breuil on his visits to other cave art sites in Andalusia (Breuil 1925: xiv-xv), dates obtained from Burkitt's diary in M. C. Burkitt Papers, Cambridge University Library).

Burkitt was back in Castillo in the summer of 1914 (White 2006: 64), although his horizons had already expanded. After his initiation into prehistoric art in the far north and far south of Spain, Burkitt had set off to Sweden and Finland to study rock art with the local expert, Gustaf Hallström (Clark 1989: 36-37). In the following years his visits apparently included rock art areas on all five continents (Breuil 1925: xv). Despite his many travels, Burkitt continued working closely with Breuil, his "kind instructor and friend" (Burkitt 1925: x), for a few more years. Together they published an article on Spanish rock art and a book on rock art (Breuil and Burkitt 1915; Breuil and Burkitt 1929). Years later, in the 1920s, Burkitt, Breuil and Obermaier coincided in their interest in South Africa, a coincidence which deserves more attention, but the investigation of which belongs to a type of endeavour different to that pursued in this book (Breuil 1930; Burkitt 1928; Obermaier and Kuhn 1930).

Figure 5.2. Photograph of the 1913 excavation at El Castillo. From left to right, Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, Miles Burkitt, Hugo Obermaier, Paul Wernert and Nels C. Nelson. Photograph courtesy of the Hugo Obermaier-Archiv, c/o Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte, Universität Erlangen.

As a lecturer in Cambridge, Miles Burkitt had a tremendous influence on the development of prehistoric archaeology in the formative years of the Cambridge School of Prehistoric Archaeology. Despite his meagre training in archaeology, he was invited by the Reader in Ethnology, Alfred C. Haddon, to undertake some undergraduate teaching in prehistory. According to Smith, lectures by Burkitt were announced in October 1913 (Smith 2009b: 22), although Clark states that this opportunity was only given to him after his return from Andalusia (Spain), a trip that, as explained above, did not take place until January to March 1914. Clark explains that the lectures on 'The Further Exploration of the Caves of France and Spain' were given on 12 and 14 May 1914 at the Sedwick Museum and that "these were the first lectures on prehistory to be delivered formally to the university" (Clark 1989: 37). Despite this debut, the lectures cannot have been addressed to undergraduates, as Smith states that in 1915 (or perhaps she should have said the 1915-16 academic year?) "a shy, young geologist named Miles Burkitt became the first in Great Britain to offer lectures on prehistoric archaeology as part of a degree

course to undergraduates" (Smith 2006: 317). Clark seemingly gives this same information, as he explains that "when the Board of Anthropology announced its lectures for 1915-16 they included three by Miles Burkitt on 'Prehistoric Archaeology and Primitive Art' ". These were, therefore, the first lectures on prehistory for undergraduates and their date, if we believe Clark (1989: ix), was 1916 (probably within the 1915-16 academic year). Burkitt, however, did not properly become a lecturer until later. At that time the University of Cambridge allowed anyone with some form of permission or 'recognition' to lecture for a fee. Haddon had started at Cambridge in this way in the 1890s (Rouse 1998: 54).

Figure 5.3. Miles Burkitt (left) and family with the Comte Henri Bégouën (1863-1956). At the front from left to right: Miles Burkitt and the Comte At the back from left to right: Judy Burkitt, Peggy Burkitt and Romain Robert. Source: Clark (1989: figure 6).

In 1920, a salary of £10 was decided for his teaching and under the 1926 statutes he was finally appointed as a salaried university lecturer, a post he held until 1957 (Clark 1989: ix; www ny). Most of his pupils considered him an excellent and inspiring teacher (Clark 1994: 2) and the textbooks he produced, in particular his *Prehistory* (Burkitt 1921) and *The Old Stone Age* (Burkitt 1933), were used by many generations of students. He trained the first students in the field in Cambridge: Jacquetta Hawkes, John Mulvaney, Charles McBurney, Glyn Daniel, Thurstan Shaw, J. Desmond Clark, Astley John Hilary Goodwin, Louis Leakey and Grahame Clark

(Clark 1989). His standing as a lecturer was not, however, paralleled by his contribution to research. He was more a synthesist than an original researcher (Smith 2009b: 25) and the use of other archaeologists' work in his publications certainly raised some misgivings (Schlanger 2003).

Burkitt did not limit his activities to the university. During World War II he was a Lieutenant (Signals Officer) in the 4th Cambridgeshire Home Guard (1941-45). After the war, he also held several other posts. He was a JP (Justice of Peace)[1] (1942), a County Councillor from 1939 to 1964 (Vice-Chairman 1958-1961 and Chairman 1961-1964). He was also an Alderman – a member of a municipal assembly or council in many jurisdictions – (1964-65) (www ny). This work outside archaeology affected his commitment to the discipline, as the following extracts from his letters to Pericot make clear. In 1949 he commented: "The difficulties are not a little that I have so little time to spare. You will know I have local government as well as archaeological duties!" (FP- 25-3-1949). And many years later, in 1961, he explained to Pericot: "Here we are entering into the last lap of my time as High Sheriff of Cambs and Huntingdonshire; there are two more assizes this month, the one in Huntingdon and the other in Cambridge. And then on April 1st I hand over to my successor. It has been an interesting and expensive (!) experience: there have been High Sheriffs in the counties since Anglo-Saxon times!" (FP- 2-1-1961). On 24 December 1964 he announced to the Barcelona professor that he was retiring from the County Council on 1 April.

Castillo and Parpalló

It is most likely that Pericot's first approach to Burkitt took place following advice given to him by Breuil. After spending a few weeks in Paris attending lectures by the French archaeologist in November and December 1926, Pericot crossed the Channel and, as seen in Chapter 4, spent some time in London with, amongst others, Kendrick. He also tried to visit Miles Burkitt to see his private collection, but Burkitt later apologised for having been absent (FP- 1-1-1927). It is unclear what Pericot wanted to see in the collection, but it may be possible that Burkitt had material from the cave of Castillo. Despite the Spanish law of 1912 banning the export of antiquities, it seems that the main excavator, Hugo

[1] JPs are "people of good standing in the community (which is not to be identified with material prosperity), who are respected as persons of good sense, character and integrity". They are unpaid local officials whose duties include witnessing legal documents, performing marriages and implementing some areas of local law.

Obermaier, allowed the dispersal of some of the finds from the excavation. It is known that some collections were clandestinely shipped to the American Museum of Natural History in 1913 and that the sending of collections continued later on (1920) (White 2006: 69). Burkitt, therefore, was not an exception. White also mentions that Pericot himself may have overlooked the legislation much later, in the 1950s.[2]

After the failed attempt to meet in early January 1927, Burkitt and Pericot managed to see each other during Pericot's second visit to Britain four years later. Pericot had now moved to the University of Valencia and in 1929 had started to excavate the cave of Parpalló (Chapter 3). When Pericot announced his visit to Britain in 1931, the Cambridge lecturer sent a card promising to pick him up from the station and inviting him for lunch (FP- 29-12-1931). Pericot sent Burkitt a publication about his excavations (Pericot 1932) (FP- 8-11-1932), probably just in time for him to add a comment in his *The Old Stone Age* mentioning that "Solutrean man does not seem to have penetrated beyond the Pyrenees, except at their extreme eastern end, where a trickle down the east coast of the Spanish Peninsula as far as Valencia seems to have taken place" (Burkitt 1933: 151, the Valencian area was also added in Fig. 17). This contrasted with his previous assertion about the absence of the Solutrean culture "south of the Cordillera Cantabrica [Cantabrian mountain chain]" (Burkitt 1925: 129), with his failure to mention Parpalló in the chronological table published with Childe (Burkitt and Childe 1932) and finally with a comment in an undated letter in which Burkitt had written to Pericot:

> As to the question of the occurrence of the Solutrean Culture in Valencia, frankly I made no mention of it in the table as I felt so little certain, after what you showed me here, that these folk had ever penetrated so far south. After all (prehistorically speaking) your area goes with Africa and I felt and indeed feel that your laurel-leaf culture may probably be a sort of "Still Bay"? The "Still Bay" culture [i.e. Aterian] - as you know - is a final derivative of the African flake-tool makers[3]; laurel leaf types occur, though there is no evidence to suggest that the true Solutrean folk were ever in Africa. The Still Bay culture in Kenya occurs intercalated with the

[2] In the American Museum of Natural History one of the collections comes from Parpalló: "a carton of animal bones labelled «Parpallo 1930» and about 50 lithic artefacts from the same site dated 1957" (White 2006: 77).

[3] In 1943 Daniel commented "There is a great break in the Old Stone Age between the core-tool and flake-tool cultures of what used to be called the Lower and Middle Palaeolithic on the one hand, and the backed blade and burin industries of the Upper Palaeolithic on the other" (Daniel 1943: 50).

> Aurignacian, that is to say that while the cultures did not mix this sort of thing is found: [Burkitt emphasised this point in the letter by drawing a stratigraphy with upper Aurignacian at the top, followed by Still bay, Aurignacian and Late flake-tool industry]
>
> Your Magdalenian with art obviously is connected with the Magd. further north. What do you feel about it all?
> (FP- undated letter, probably 1932)

Burkitt was following Breuil, as he usually did in so many other archaeological proposals, in his opposition to the links between Aterian and Solutrean.

As explained in Chapter 3, the full publication of the results from the excavation of the cave of Parpalló had to wait until the end of the Spanish Civil War or, in other words, until the political circumstances allowed the scholarly community to resume their professional lives. The final draft of the text had been produced in 1938, during the Spanish Civil War, when, because of his role as secretary of the Faculty of Humanities (Facultat de Lletres), Pericot had not been mobilised. However, after the war, he still had to wait until his position had been confirmed in 1940 and then for the funding to become available to subsidise the publication of the Parpalló report. A newly revised text filling three bulky volumes was finally issued in 1942. *La Cueva del Parpalló* fully demonstrated that Eastern Spain had sites with, firstly, a sequence similar to that known for the Franco-Cantabrian area, with Upper Palaeolithic strata with Aurignacian, Solutrean and Magdalenian material and, secondly, art similar to that of northern Spain. The presence of Solutrean revealed that the area was not culturally linked to Africa and the Capsian, as had previously been thought, but to Europe. Also, the findings challenged the existing understanding of the origin of the Solutrean, as they pointed towards Spain rather than Eastern Europe.

By the time Pericot had his results in print, however, Burkitt had stopped writing any new major books and the impact of their friendship on the promotion of the Catalan professor's work was therefore limited. In 1949 Burkitt published a second edition of his *The Old Stone Age*, which he sent to Pericot. He explained that "it is mainly intended for teaching, but may perhaps amuse you. You will receive it direct from the University Press" (FP- 14-7-1949). Pericot in turn sent Burkitt his *Primitive Spain**, an overview of Spanish archaeology (Pericot 1950c). Burkitt thanked him: "I am reading it with great pleasure and interest. If only it had been written in English!!" (FP- 27-6-1951).

The International Summer Course of Ampurias (1951)

The highest frequency of letters from Burkitt to Pericot corresponds to the invitation received by the British lecturer in 1951 to participate in the International Summer Course of Ampurias. Miles Burkitt, however, had not been Pericot's first choice. In 1947 he had tried to persuade both Dorothy Garrod and Grahame Clark to come, but they had declined the invitation (see below). Pericot then managed to secure the presence of Christopher Hawkes on the course (Chapter 6 and Díaz-Andreu 2007a). An invitation that Burkitt had turned down in 1949 may have indicated that this was the first time he had been asked; he had sent his apologies, saying that he was too busy with his affairs in local government. Despite his refusal, he added: "Yes indeed I guard many happy memories of your delightful country… I hope the various congresses will be a great success. I should love to see you all some time and study your discoveries first hand. The difficulties are not a little that I have so little time to spare. … Perhaps Easter year?? (sic)" (FP- 25-3-1949).

After receiving the invitation to participate in the course of 1951, Miles Burkitt wrote to Pericot thanking him: "Both my wife and I are immensely touched by the kind invitation to attend the lovely Curso de Prehist. y Arqueol. next September extended to us by yourself and your colleague [referring to Almagro]. We are delighted to accept and shall spend the next few months looking forward to September. I spent my honeymoon in Spain – much of it at Puente Viesgo!! I am grateful, too, for your kind offer in respect to my 'gastos' (expenses)". He also added: "As you know I am very interested in the Eastern Spanish art. If you want a 'chatter' with some slides on the connection between the Eastern Spanish art and that in parts of Africa I shall be delighted to hold forth. Also, if you should want something on (say) the motives underlying the production of the Cave Art I am at your disposal" (FP- 18-2-1951) and suggested at the end of his letter: "P.S. I could bring a few slides (unpublished) of the section at Castillo if you so wish" (ibidem). Six months later he further explained: "I am bringing some slides (2 ¼ x 3 ¼ in size) to illustrate the talks. As to the one on eastern Spain I only propose to draw attention to one or two problems and to show some comparison with the rock shelter art in S. Rhodesia [today's Zimbabwe]. The second talk on the motives of the cave art will be very short as I propose to precede it by showing some unpublished slides of the great dig at Castillo. I did all the photographing there and have the pictures which were never published owing to the break out of the 1914-18 war. As the party is to visit Castillo the photos of the

sections at various stages of the excavation will probably be of interest" (FP- 18-8-1951). Burkitt does not seem to have been very good at languages, as he insisted both in February and August that he would be speaking in English. As he put it, "My Spanish was always feeble alas and now is non-existent! I could answer questions in French, but to give a whole talk in it would be difficult. I will speak slowly" (FP- 18-8-1951).

Burkitt's material on Castillo at the International Summer Course of Ampurias would create some epistolary communication years later. In the early 1970s, towards the end of his life, Pericot must have asked for copies of the photographs Burkitt had of Castillo, as Miles and Peggy Burkitt assured him that they had "done as you wished and have had copies made of all those photographs of the Castillo dig which you wanted. They are now yours for you to do with as you will as far as I am concerned! The only problem is how to get them to you? Is the post nowadays reliable? Or is it possible that you (or perhaps some friend of yours whom you trust) would be in England in the near future and can come and collect them from me, for you?" (FP- 5-1-1971). Several months later, after Burkitt's death on 22 August 1971, his widow wrote to Pericot: "about the Castillo photos, they are here for you whenever you can come for them" (FP- 31-10-1971). Pericot finally received them during his visit to Cambridge in March 1972: "I was sorry to miss you when you were in Cambridge but I am glad that at least you have the photographs of Castillo. We had lunch with Mrs Burkitt last Sunday" (FP- Daniel, 1-3-1972).

In 1951, Miles and Peggy Burkitt had flown from London to Barcelona on 2 September to join the Ampurias course (FP- 15-6-1951). They had encouraged three Cambridge students, Ann Paull (later Ann Sieveking), Gillian M. Spence and also Peter Tennant to join them (FP- Spence 11-7-1957). The course, which focused on discussions of prehistoric art, started in Barcelona and then moved to Cantabria, visiting on the way the rock art of Cogul (Almagro 1952), to which several decorated caves were added once the party established itself in northern Spain (Ripoll Perelló 1974: xii-xiii). The British contingent hired a car and also went to San Sebastian in the Basque Country ("I trust this will be possible as the trains on that line are …!!! (sic)" (FP- Burkitt 18-8-1951). Back in England, Miles Burkitt wrote to Pericot: "Just a line to thank you for all your kindness to us. The whole expedition was a 'howling' success and the Congress generally was made up of such pleasant people. I was so glad to see again my old haunts and also to visit and study a number of new caves I had not before visited" (FP- 15-9-1951). Strangely enough, four days later Peggy

wrote another letter in French thanking Pericot (!) (FP- 19-9-1951). More than a year later she would ask, this time in English, "when can you provide another conference to give us the excuse to come again?" (FP- 27-12-1952).

Peggy Burkitt invited Pericot to stay with them during his October 1951 visit to England (FP- Peggy Burkitt 19-9-1951). Pericot must have answered with the exact dates of his visit and to this Mrs Burkitt replied: "we are delighted that you will come to Cambridge and to us, and shall look forward to welcoming you in our home so much for 13th and 14th" and she added: "In fact we hope to have a little party for you here, and certainly shall get Miss Caton Thompson to come to your talk & to a meal here" (FP- Peggy Burkitt, 26-9-1951). The talk she was referring to had been organised by Grahame Clark ("Miss Garrod is still away, but without any doubt a lecture can be arranged & the best time would probably be 5 o'clock on Saturday 13th" (FP- Clark 25-9-1951)). Clark may have also helped Childe to organise Pericot's main talk of this visit to England, his lecture at the Prehistoric Society in London. Despite all his arrangements, Clark informed him that "The Burkitts will not allow me to put you up", and added, "but you will surely come & see my family & on Sunday (14th) evening you must come & dine in Peterhouse - the oldest (& of course the best) college in Cambridge" (FP- 25-9-1951).

It was after the Burkitts' attendance at the International Summer Course of Ampurias and Pericot's visit to Cambridge that the Pericots added the Burkitts to their Christmas *turrón* list, a kindness that they responded to at least the first year with a plum pudding (FP- Peggy Burkitt 4-1-1952). Some degree of exchange of information about other archaeologists and especially information about their families was also included in the letters, something that clearly shows the new direction their relationship had taken from 1951. There were also other minor exchanges of information. A single example of this will suffice. On 2 January 1961 Miles and Peggy Burkitt wrote a letter in which they explained that "there is little and no startling prehistoric news. Recently I had to distribute among Museums the very large Collections of the late Leslie Armstrong. The chalk idol from Grimes Graves turned up at Manchester in the collections and I have sent it to the British Museum. It can, therefore, now be seen!".

After 1951

After 1951, however, Burkitt and Pericot would not see much of each other and, when they did, it was rarely in an academic environment, something that should not come as a surprise given Burkitt's increasing disinterest in research. In 1953 Burkitt published an article on "Prehistoric Archaeology and National Education" in *Zephyrus*, the journal published by the Seminario de Arqueología (Seminar of Archaeology) of Salamanca. The editor of this journal was the Catalan scholar, Juan Maluquer de Motes, one of the professors trained after the Civil War that Barcelona had exported to other areas of Spain. After some hesitation (FP- 16-11-1953), Miles decided not to attend the IV CISPP in Spain presided over by Pericot, perhaps because, as his wife explained "we fear the date will fall during our University term time in which case it will be difficult for Miles to get away from Cambridge" (FP- 30-12-1953). Four months later, Burkitt would write: "How nice of you to send me a postcard about the Congress. Alas we shall not be able to be present though I have paid my subscription and hope to get the proceedings in due course. At the moment I have a good deal of lumbago and am very busy. The dates of the congress are in term time, and with all my commitments it is too difficult to get away. All luck to you and the Congress" (FP- 11-4-1954). In 1960, however, an already retired Burkitt attended Pericot's lecture at the Institute of Archaeology (FP- 12-2-1960). Pericot had planned a visit to Cambridge in September 1965 (FP- 27-5-1965), but this seems to have fallen through. He must have seen the Burkitts in 1970, perhaps during his lecture in Cambridge, as Peggy Burkitt mentioned on Christmas day "We did so enjoy that little glimpse of you and hope you will repeat it next year".

The Burkitts did indeed return to Spain after the invitation to the Ampurias course, but only for holidays. In 1961 they went to Ibiza to visit Celia Topp and her husband. As explained in Chapter 4, Celia Topp, one of Childe's former undergraduate students, had been living in Gibraltar. There she had collaborated with Arribas on the excavation of Los Millares in 1956, but Childe's death led her to stop her work on her doctoral thesis. She had translated Arribas' book on *The Iberians* (Arribas 1964) into English. The Topps had moved to Ibiza after her husband's retirement in 1960s. After his death, Celia returned to archaeology (Gómez-Bellard 1992; Topp 1978; Topp et al. 1976; Topp and Plantalamor Massanet 1992).

Regarding the Burkitts, on their return from their visit to Celia Topp, with the excuse that they had to wait several hours at the airport before their flight to London, they suggested to Pericot that they meet (FP- 26-4-1961). By Christmas 1964 they were planning another holiday in Spain: "We think of going to Alicante, but none of the tourist agencies in England have heard of the place - it is not a tourist centre they say. Now that is the reason we think of going to Alicante, namely to avoid a tourist centre!! There is a comfortable hotel overlooking the harbour but what is its name? Do you happen to know? I should be grateful as no information about the place can be obtained here" (FP- 24-12-1964). Once they had reserved their tickets, they again suggested to Pericot that they meet in Barcelona while changing planes (FP- 25-3-1965) and, despite the short time in between flights, they managed to see him on their way to Alicante (FP- 27-5-1965). On this trip, Burkitt appears to have visited the museum in Elche and talked to its director, Alejandro Ramos Folqués ("thousands of thanks too for the introduction to the charming señor Ramos at Elche" (FP- 27-5-1965). "When you wrote that little note to Señor Ramos you described me as the patriarch of British archaeology; you are the king of Spanish prehistory. Note that a king is above a patriarch!! When shall we see you again over here? Don't delay too long. We loved our time at Alicante; it is a lovely place and we both do love Spain. As you know we spent our honeymoon in the Country some 43 years ago" (FP- Miles and Peggy Burkitt, 30-12-1965).

Burkitt died in 1971. Pericot kept the draft of the letter he wrote to Burkitt's widow, Peggy Burkitt:

> I could not believe the sad news that I received through several British friends… of the sudden death of my admired and excellent friend Miles, the leading man in the British Prehistory, one of the best men I have known in life. In my bad English I have unable to express you my sorrow. I pray you to tell my condollance (sic) to you all and to my feelings from all my family.
>
> I hope to visit you and be able to present you personally my deep sorrow
>
> Yours ever
>
> (FP- Pericot to Peggy Burkitt 20?-10-1971)

Dorothy Garrod and Gertrude Caton Thompson

A woman professor in Cambridge: Dorothy Garrod

Dorothy Annie Elizabeth Garrod (1892-1968) was the first woman professor at either Cambridge or Oxford and indeed the first to obtain a chair in prehistoric archaeology in Britain (Smith 2009b: 69). She had initially been educated at home with a tutor and then at Burkland School, St Albans, a "small private school" (Champion 1998: 187; Daniel 1968b)[4]. She studied History and then the Classics at Newnham College, Cambridge, and graduated in 1916. She lost all her three brothers during World War I. In 1919 she went to Malta, where her father was Head of War Hospitals. We are told that he "in his wisdom[,] distracted her mind towards interest in the antiquities" (Caton Thompson 1969: 342). Back in England, after her father had been appointed Regius Professor of Medicine at Oxford in 1920, she started a post-graduate diploma in anthropology there in March 1921, for which she earned a diploma with distinction in 1922 (Oxford University Archives). With a travelling scholarship from her Cambridge College, Newham, she went to France to study at the Institute of Human Palaeontology in Paris. Breuil agreed to take her as his pupil for two years (Bar-Yosef and Callander 2004: 383; Clark 1989: 11)[5].

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[4] The number of contradictions among Garrod's biographers is notable: some say she was privately educated at home (Smith 2009b: 70), whereas others say she went to Burkland School (Champion 1998: 187; Daniel 1968b). For some she studied Classical History at Newham College (Smith 2009b: 70) and for others she read History and then Classics (Daniel 1968b). A third example of the confusion will suffice: whereas some sources indicate that she gained her BSc after the publication of *The Upper Palaeolithic Age in Britain* (1926) (Smith 2009b: 73, fig. XXVII), others say that she first gained it in 1924 and published the book later (Davies 1999: 2). As original research on Garrod's biography is beyond the scope of this publication, I have tried to follow the most logical version every time I have found a contradiction among her biographers. However, there seems to be an urgent need for a good, critical and authoritative biography of Dorothy Garrod.

[5] Clark (1989: 11) mentions a conference at Oxford by the French prehistorian and good friend of Henri Breuil, Émile Cartailhac (1845-1921), as an explanation for Garrod's study in Paris. However, Cartailhac seems to have been in Oxford in 1912, when he was made doctor honoris causa (Aldhouse-Green and Ruggles 2004; Bégouen 1923).

Smith, however, sees Marrett behind Garrod's interest in Prehistory and her trip to Toulouse in 1921, where she met Cartailhac. Clark mentions elsewhere that Marret 'sent' Garrod (Clark in Murray 1999: (I) 402) although he places this encounter in Paris not Toulouse.

Her training in Paris would be the basis of all her future research (Clark in Murray 1999: vol I, 401-412). Breuil also encouraged her to write a thesis about the British Palaeolithic (Breuil 1926), with which she gained a B.Sc. on 22 January 1925 (Oxford University Archives[6]). This was later published as a book, *The Upper Palaeolithic Age in Britain* (1926). Garrod became a research fellow at Newnham (1929-32) and later a Leverhulme Research Fellow (1932). In 1937 she was awarded a D.Sc by virtue of submitted of printed material (Oxford University Archives, Colin Harris pers. comm. 9-6-2011). She was awarded an honorary degree in Philadelphia (1937). In 1939 she was appointed to the Disney Chair of Archaeology at Cambridge, a post she had applied for saying "I shan't get it, but I thought I'd give the electors a run for their money" (Caton Thompson 1969: 340). She would mention immediately after her election to the Disney Professorship of Archaeology: "I wish my father had been alive and the Others" (ibidem). She would retire voluntarily in 1952.

Figure 5.4. Dorothy Garrod and Abbé Henri Breuil in 1925, when she was awarded a B.Sc. from Oxford University. Source: Musée des Antiquités Nationales (St-Germain-en-Laye, Paris).

[6] I owe this information to Colin Harris (pers. comm. 9-6-2011).

After having been denied permission to excavate at Kent's Cavern (Smith 2009b: 73), on Breuil's advice her first excavations were in Gibraltar at the foot of the Devil's Tower in 1925-7. There, she excavated a rock shelter in which she found the remains of a Neanderthal child in layers that had previously yielded Mousterian tools (Garrod et al. 1928). The interest raised by this discovery and others in Palestine brought American funding through George Grant MacCurdy (1863-1947), the director of the American School of Prehistoric Research, who had recently published *Human Origins* (MacCurdy 1924). With the support of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, Garrod cooperated on joint expeditions with the American School. In 1928 they went to the Kurdish area of Iraq and then Palestine, to the Wadi Mughara group of caves at Mount Carmel (1929-34), where she found the first Neanderthal remains outside Europe (Hooton 1950). She also excavated in Bulgaria (1938), France at Angles sur l'Anglin (1948-1968) and the Lebanon (1958-64) (Bar-Yosef and Callander 2004).

The correspondence

It is unclear when Garrod and Pericot made each other's acquaintance, but it must have been before World War II. On 8 May 1943 Childe mentioned to his Catalan colleague that he had been to London "where I gave your greetings to Hawkes, Dorothy Garrod and others who send their cordial greetings in return". He then asked Pericot whether he could send his publication on Parpalló: "I should much like to have it and have promised to lend it to Prof. Garrod too" (FP- Childe 8-5-1943). When Pericot announced to Childe that he was going to Britain in April 1946, he duly informed Garrod "for I am sure the University of Cambridge will try to take the same advantage of your visit" (FP- Childe 20-1-1946). Garrod did indeed organise a lecture on 26April, as mentioned above. She explained, however, that he could not be put up because "both the Burkitts and I … [are] victims of domestic crises which make it difficult to receive guests for the moment. If you would like to spend the night in Cambridge, I think I could find you a room at a hotel. I am sorry to appear so inhospitable, but the difficulty of finding or keeping servants is very acute in this country at present!" (FP- 10-4-1946) (the lack of servants became a common problem at the time (Light 2007)). As we will see, however, it is likely that Pericot then stayed with the Clarks.

In 1947, Pericot invited Dorothy Garrod to participate in the International Summer Course of Ampurias, but she sent her apologies. As she explained:

"I really appreciate your invitation to take part in your students' week; unfortunately it coincides with the time when I shall be excavating in France and would necessitate my returning to England in order to come. As I have just begun this new work, I want to give all the time I can to it this summer. I hope on another occasion to have the opportunity to see your material from Parpalló and visit the East Spanish rock-paintings. Grahame Clark would be very pleased to come if the invitation is still open" (FP- 4-5-1947). As will be mentioned later, Clark accepted, but subsequently had to decline the invitation. In the end, Pericot turned to Christopher Hawkes, an option that, due to his specialisation in the Iron Age, would have been of particular interest to the other organiser of the Ampurias courses, Prof. Martín Almagro (Díaz-Andreu 2007a). Two years later, Pericot would comment to Hawkes in an ambiguous sentence that can be read as referring to the Ampurias course: "you must come with your wife next year. And if you can send to Spain Mr. Piggott, Mr. Clark, Miss Garrod or Miss Caton Thompson, we should be happy" (BOD-Hawkes Box 21– Pericot 6-11-1949). Hawkes also mentioned to Pericot that he would probably not see Garrod at the III CISPP in Zürich in 1950: "[Clark] will be at Zurich, but is very busy with a Paleo-Mesolithic excavation from Yorkshire. [Miss Garrod] probably [not] at Zurich" (FP-3-4-1950), and, as we will see, she did not attend the IV CISPP in Madrid either.

In 1951 Garrod contacted Pericot, interceding on behalf of three Cambridge students, Anne Paull, Gillian Spence and Peter Tennant, asking that they be accepted on his "tour to the Cantabric coast in September; they have already applied, but have not yet heard whether they can have a place" (FP- 9-6-1951). Pericot must have answered, as there are letters from Gillian Spence (FP- 11-7-1951) and Ann Paull (FP- 10-9-1951) letting him know their dates of arrival. In her letter of 9 June, Garrod also added: "I have asked the Oxford University Press to send you a copy of the Stone Age of Mount Carmel, Vol. I" (ibidem) (Garrod and Bate 1937). Pericot did not see Dorothy Garrod on his visit to Britain in August 1948 and she had probably just returned from fieldwork in October 1951, although, as will be explained below, they had met a few months earlier in Valencia. Arrangements relating to her move to France prevented her from attending the IV CISPP in Madrid.

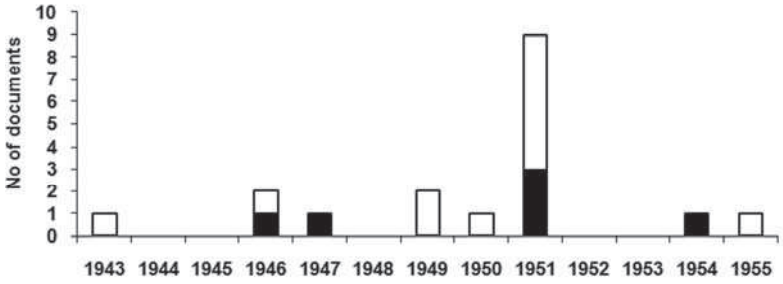

Figure 5.5. Letters in the Pericot Archive from Dorothy Garrod (black) and other letters in which Garrod is mentioned (white).

Gorham's Cave, John Waechter and a visit to Valencia

Gorham's Cave (Gibraltar) was first found in 1907 and rediscovered in the mid-1940s, when a certain Lieutenant George Baker Alexander undertook to excavate it. However, the less than ideal methods he used led to complaints by the Gibraltar Museum Committee and he was forced to leave Gibraltar. The brief was then to find a more suitable excavator. The British Museum was asked for help with the exploration of the cave, but the institution acknowledged its lack of appropriatepersonnel for such an undertaking and the letter was forwarded to Prof. Garrod. She then proposed one of her students for this mission. John d'Arcy Waechter (1912-1978) had just finished his PhD on the Mesolithic in the Near East, although his experience in archaeology came from before World War II; in the 1930s he had excavated with Flinders Petrie and Garrod in the Near East and also with Wheeler at Maiden Castle (Anonymous 1978; Clark 1994: 3). John Waechter undertook several seasons in Gibraltar; the first, two months in September 1948, was followed by June to March 1951, February to July 1952 and several months in 1954 (Anonymous 1978). In 1949, Pericot must have asked Kendrick about Gorham's Cave in Gibraltar, as he was advised to "ask Dorothy Garrod for full information". Kendrick added "four small scarabs were found & some Egyptian glass fragments, I think in 1945 or 1946. The scarabs are described as Saïte of about 700 B.C., & the bits of glass were believed to belong to the same period. I believe the excavation is now continuing under the direction of Mr Waechter of Cambridge" (FP- Kendrick 5-11-1949).

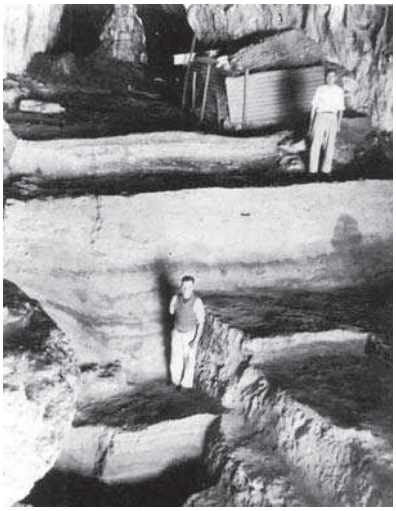

Figure 5.6. Gorham's Cave in Waechter (1976).

Pericot contacted Waechter, who assured him that the Gibraltar authorities had no objection to him seeing the cave and added that if he managed "to come I hope you will stay here as my guest" (FP- 26-10-1950). Before this happened, however, Waechter announced that he was going to Valencia with Dorothy Garrod in March 1951 (FP- 18-1-1951, 26-2-1951). Garrod further explained their plans: "It is most kind of you to take so much trouble on our behalf; I am very much looking forward to meeting you again and seeing Parpalló with you. … we will be in Valencia on the 21st. In addition to Dr Waechter, I shall be accompanied by mademoiselle de Saint-Mathurin, my colleague at Angles-sur-l'Anglin, and mademoiselle Henri-Martin, the discoverer of the Fontéchevade skull. Our plans after Valencia are rather fluid, but include a return to France by the Cantabric coast. We can perhaps discuss all this when we meet" (FP- 10-3-1951).

After their visit she wrote Pericot that she wanted "to thank you most warmly and sincerely for all that you did to make my visit to Valencia delightful and profitable. The hours spent in the museum and our day in the mountains have left most happy memories, and I have learnt much about your finds from seeing and handling the actual material under your guidance. I came away with the impression that Spain has very much to contribute to our knowledge of prehistoric Europe, and I wish you every success in your researches. I am sending you some books, which I hope

will arrive safely, as a small expression of my gratitude. I hope you will visit us again in England before too long" (FP- 16-4-1951).

Figure 5.7. Pericot explains the collections in the Museum of Valencia to, from left to right, John Waechter, Dorothy Garrod, Germaine Henri-Martin and Suzanne de Saint Marthurin. Salvador Espí is standing to the left of Pericot. Source: Archivo SIP Museu de Prehistòria de València.

Garrod's last letter to Pericot also mentioned Gorham's Cave. On 29 March 1954 she told him she would not go to the CISPP in Madrid. "The fact is", she said, "I have just returned from a long visit to the Near East, where I have been working on unpublished material in the Jerusalem museum and have also re-visited Baghdad, and have spent a little time on the raised shore-lines of the Lebanon. I feel I cannot start out again so soon, as I must install my furniture and books in my little house in the Charente which is now ready, and which I want to make habitable. I hope the congress will be a very great success. I understand Clark is coming from Cambridge, but not Daniel or Burkitt. In a letter, Prof. Zeuner tells me that Waechter has reached the fossil beach deposit in Gorham's Cave, where there is now evidence for all three phases of the Last Glaciation" (FP- 29-3-1954).

Figure 5.8. Lunch after visiting the Cave of Mallaetes. In the foreground from left to right: Luis Aveleyra, John Waechter, Dorothy Garrod (front), Germaine Henri-Martin, Luis Pericot, Suzanne de Saint Marthurin, Enrique Pla. Source: Archivo SIP Museu de Prehistòria de València.

Correspondence with John Waechter continued for several years. He visited Pericot in Barcelona in February of both 1952 and 1953 (FP-Waechter 11-2-1952, 21-1-1953). He was invited to write for the prehistory journal produced in Valencia, the *Archivo de Prehistoria Levantina*, by Domingo Fletcher Valls (1912-1995), the director of the Valencian SIP, and he sent a copy of his draft to Pericot (FP- 21-1-1953) (Waechter 1953). He enquired about it months later, as neither Pericot nor Fletcher had acknowledged it (FP- 1-12-1953). Waechter also mentioned that he wanted to visit the Museum in Tetuan, in the Spanish protectorate of Morocco, and that he was planning to finish the excavation of Gorham's Cave by Easter 1954 (FP- 1-12-1953). He invited Pericot to visit the excavation before the end of the season, but there is no evidence that Pericot managed to go. Waechter's last letter is dated 1957. He mentions that the final report on the Gibraltar excavation was reaching completion and wondered whether there was any new Mousterian material from Southern Spain (FP- 13-3-1957). He apologised for taking so long to finish the report and explained that he had had to put it aside many times; it was finally published a few years later, in 1964. Part of the reason for

the delay in finishing the publication on Gorham's Cave was that he had "been in America working on the Palaeolithic material from Ksar 'Akil in the Lebanon, which, if you remember was dug by American Jesuits. I have been preparing the material for publication and have a considerable quantity of it here – some thirty-three cases to be exact – and I have arranged with the excavator that we should distribute this to any institution who might need it. I would like to offer you a series on their behalf. The site runs from late Levalloiso [sic]-Mousterian to the very end of the Upper Palaeolithic and is a far fuller series than that from Mt Carmel" (FP- 13-3-1957). Waechter mentioned that he was "very anxious to build up the teaching collections of the Institute here [Institute of Archaeology in London] and I wonder if it would be possible to have some Spanish material, firstly some Abbevillian/Acheulian from San Isidro and Torralba and secondly any material from Mallites [Mallaetes?] that you can spare" (ibidem). Although he immediately added: "This request has nothing to do with the offer of material from 'Akil [Ksar 'Akil in Lebanon, a site Waechter had excavated], but there may be something here which you would like to exchange" (ibidem).

Gertrude Caton Thompson[7]

At the time of the exchange of letters with Garrod, Pericot also received three letters from another woman, Gertrude Caton Thompson (1893-1985), between 1947 and 1951. Her name was also mentioned in another four. Caton Thompson had no official post in archaeology, although just before the correspondence started, during World War II, she had been president of the Prehistoric Society (1940-46) and in 1944 she had been elected to the British Academy. She was of a similar age to Dorothy Garrod, and, as in her colleague's case, but for different reasons, World War I seems to have been influential in her decision to study archaeology. She did so at University College, London under Margaret Murray and Dorothea Bate, assisting the Petries with their Abydos excavations (1921) and Murray with her excavations in Malta (1922). Feeling that she needed further training, she took courses in prehistory, geology, anthropology and other subjects at Newnham College, Cambridge. She embarked on several excavations in Egypt and in the late 1920s she excavated Great Zimbabwe, a site she proposed, against accepted knowledge, to be of African origin and medieval in chronology. It is said that she turned down the Disney Chair of archaeology at Cambridge, which was then offered to Dorothy

[7] Following Caton Thompson herself in her autobiography *Mixed Memoirs* (1983), I have decided not to hyphenate her surname.

Garrod in 1939. She also excavated in Libya and Arabia. Although she gave occasional lectures, teaching did not appeal her, and, as a woman of means, she did not need to earn a living (Caton Thompson 1983: 114-143; Cohen and Joukowsky 2004; Daniel 1986b; Register 1979).

Figure 5.9. Gertrude Caton Thompson. Copyright the British Academy.

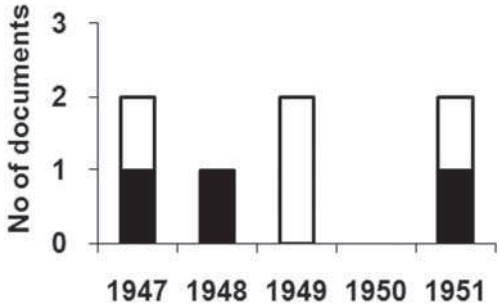

Figure 5.10. Letters in the Pericot Archive from Gertrude Caton Thompson (black) and other letters in which she is mentioned (white).

The first mention of Gertrude Caton Thompson in the correspondence kept in the Pericot Archive was by Gordon Childe (FP- 18-6-1947), when he explained that he had just received her lecture on the Aterian (Caton Thompson 1946). As explained in Chapter 4, in his Parpalló publication Pericot had linked the Solutrean to the North African Aterian (Pericot 1942b: 208-319). The Aterian was a North African culture first defined by the Frenchman, Paul Pallary, in the early twentieth century. For a while it was known as Sbaikien or Sbaikian, but this term was substituted by that of Aterian after the excavations carried out by the French archaeologist Maurice Reygasse (1881-1965) at Bil El Ater in Algeria (Pericot 1953b: Chapter 3; Reygasse 1922). This term became widespread from the late 1940s (E. Gozalbes Cravioto pers. comm. 1-12-2008). Childe was excited about the parallels Caton Thompson had established with the Solutrean (FP- Childe 18-6-1947). Pericot then wrote to Caton Thompson before the end of the month, indicating to her that he had also pointed to such a link in his publications. She was delighted to get his letter of June, but explained that her "paper was of course written long before that, and was at the printer's; so I was unable to introduce any fresh paragraphs, or even to refer intelligibly to the very important discoveries of the Peabody expedition in Tangier" (FP- Caton Thompson 6-9-1947) (she was referring to Bruce Howe and Hallam L. Movius' excavations at Mugharet el-Aliya, or High Cave, in northern Morocco (Howe et al. 1947)). She also wondered "what Ruhlmann has got up his sleeve in the Dar-Es-Soltan?"; here she was speaking of the excavations carried out by Armand Ruhlmann, the French Inspector of Antiquities in Morocco from 1931, that would be published posthumously in 1951. Caton Thompson added "I think we know next to nothing yet of the full typological material of the Aterian" (FP- Caton Thompson 6-9-1947). She then referred to Breuil's

opposition to the theory of Aterian influence in southwest Europe: "Actually he does not raise any single point I had not considered very attentively; and I cannot help thinking that acceptance of his 'alternative' hypothesis involves us in acceptance of the theory of independent evolution at innumerable points of the Earth's surface of the 'Solutrian' [sic] technique and typology, which I am not, personally, prepared to accept on such a wide-spread scale. I fancy that Ruhlmann generally echoes Breuil's ideas, and does not venture to advance many of his own quite independently. Is that the case do you think. You, at any rate, are completely independent" (FP- Caton Thompson 6-9-1947). Indeed, Caton Thompson was right: Ruhlman followed Breuil and argued against the links between the Aterian and the Solutrean (Pericot 1951a).

Pericot had wanted to meet Gertrude Caton Thompson on his trip to Britain in August 1948, but she said she would away from Cambridge or London, "So my real hope of seeing you must be that you go to Oxford before Aug 19th, when we could arrange to meet either there or here (where I am staying with the Navarros). It would be sad to miss you altogether" (FP- Caton Thompson 12-8-1948). It appears that they did not meet on this occasion. As seen above, in a letter to Hawkes, Pericot mentioned Caton Thompson as a possible invitee to one of the various meetings he was organising in Spain (BOD-Hawkes Box 21– file Pericot, letter dated 6-11-1949) and in his reply Hawkes agreed (FP- 28-12-1949). Pericot's deference to Caton Thompson was also made clear when, through Burkitt, he sent her his book *Primitive Spain** (Pericot 1950c). She acknowledged this about six months later, apologising for not having written before as "it reached me at a moment when I had to put it aside for a less busy moment, as I was then correcting the final proofs of Kharga Oasis in Prehistory", referring to her 1952 book. She had read it "only wishing my Spanish were less imperfect" and thought that "it is a most valuable survey, which one is specially glad to welcome under one cover; and I am struck, as I am always in your pronouncements, at the balance and impartiality of the presentment of complicated questions" (FP- Caton Thompson 29-1-1951). Caton Thompson met Pericot on his visit to England in 1951, when she attended his lecture in Cambridge and dined with him at the Burkitt's (FP- Peggy Burkitt, 26-9-1951). Communication was broken at this point and although they both attended the third Pan-African at Victoria Falls, Livingstone, Rhodesia (today Zambia), Caton Thompson is not mentioned in the letters written by British archaeologists kept in the Pericot Archive after this encounter. She retired in 1956.

Grahame Clark

Grahame Clark (1907-1995) is the next major British correspondent Pericot had in Cambridge. He was not the only Spaniard Clark was corresponding with, as other archives have provided letters written by two other important archaeologists at the time, Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla and Martín Almagro Basch (Díaz-Andreu 2010). Clark's entire active life was closely tied to that of the university town. He was one of Miles Burkitt's UG students (1926-29), although unlike Burkitt, he embarked on a life of original research. In 1929 he became the first student to enrol for PG study after the establishment, three years earlier, of the Faculty Board of Archaeology and Anthropology (although other earlier graduates such as Louis Leakey were already doing research) (Fagan 2001: 18-19, 25). Between 1930 and 1932 he had a Hugo de Balsham Studentship at Peterhouse. He was awarded his doctoral degree in 1934 and made an assistant lecturer the following year. After the war, he was promoted to lecturer (1946) and, following Dorothy Garrod's voluntary retirement, he obtained the Disney Chair of Archaeology (1952-74). He directed the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology (1956-61, 1968-71) and, close to retirement, became the Master of Peterhouse (1973-80) (Fagan 2001: passim).

His many decades of active research would leave a deep and lasting impact on archaeology. In his early years he revolutionised the state of Mesolithic studies in Britain and later that of prehistoric hunter-gatherers and early agriculturalists worldwide. Clark also occupies a distinguished place in the history of archaeological theory, as a pioneer of functionalism in archaeology. He had first been attracted to this perspective in the 1930s and this interest resulted in the formation of the Fenland Research Committee. This was an informal group composed of archaeologists, botanists, biologists, geographers and geologists who met a few times a year during the late 1930s and the 1940s (Fagan 2001: ch. 3). He became interested not so much in the evolution of archaeological types throughout time and space in a succession of archaeological cultures, but rather in exploring in a scientific way the interrelations between the different aspects that characterised a society. These aspects ranged from social organisation to economics and ideology. Clark was a charismatic figure who managed to find jobs for many of his students, not only in Britain, but elsewhere in the English-speaking world. In this way, he ensured that the Cambridge perspectives of archaeology extended their influence throughout the world.

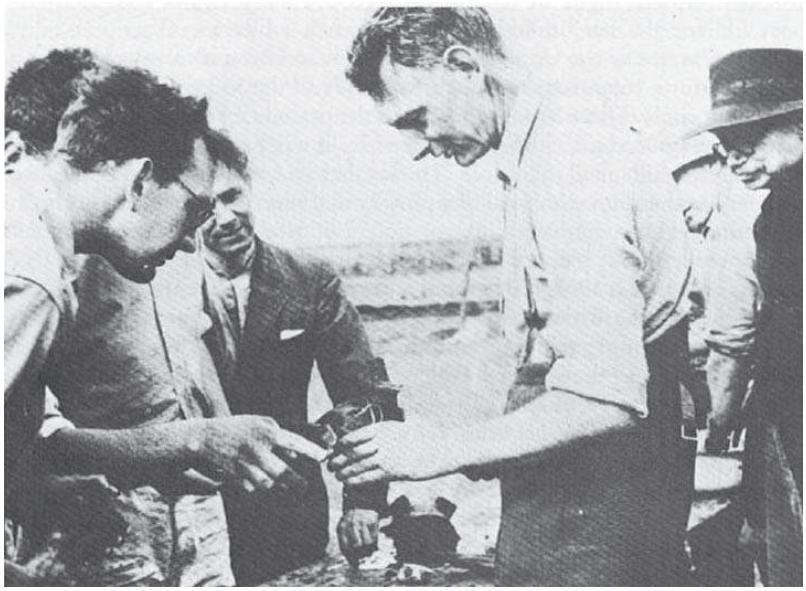

Figure 5.11. Grahame Clark in Star Carr in 1950. On the left is John D. Evans. On the right, Gordon Childe. Copyright the estate of Grahame Clark.

There are eighty letters written by or with information on Grahame Clark in the Pericot Archive. They are dated from 1947 to 1975. Thirty-three are from him, nine are from his wife Mollie and he is mentioned in another thirty-eight, mainly from Cambridge colleagues – Glyn Daniel (8) and Miles Burkitt (5) – and from the Cambridge student Michael W. Thompson (7). In addition, in this section I will refer to a letter from the Hawkes Archive in the Bodleian library and to other documents from the Pericot Archive. The correspondence shows that Clark included Pericot among a loose network of friends around the late 1940s. Pericot was the first to establish contact and some of the early exchanges are related to the invitation to the Ampurias congress. The letters of the early 1950s revolve around the presence in Spain of one of Clark's students, Michael Thompson, and later his own visit to Spain. There was a peak in the correspondence in 1955 corresponding to Clark's reminders to Pericot regarding his contribution to the Childe festschrift and another in 1959 referring to the Clarks' holidays in Spain. In 1970 the correspondence is about a lecture Pericot gave in Cambridge.

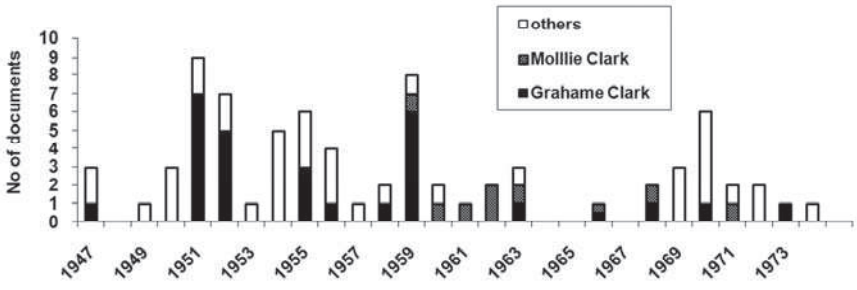

Figure 5.12. Letters in the Pericot Archive from Grahame Clark (black), Mollie Clark (brick pattern) and others in which Clark is mentioned (bricks).

Clark in Spain: the 1952 visit, holidays (1959) and a meeting (1963)

Pericot met Grahame Clark on his visit to Britain in April 1946. Clark mentioned more than a year later that "surely the children remember you with affection & still speak of your paper models" (FP- 26-5-1947). This may mean that Pericot was put up by the Clarks (as mentioned above, neither Dorothy Garrod nor the Burkitts could accommodate him because of the lack of servants). Perhaps because of this initial contact and his own interest in Palaeolithic and Mesolithic archaeology, Pericot thought of Clark – as well as of the Disney professor of Archaeology, Dorothy Garrod – as a first option to invite to the first International Summer Course of Ampurias in 1947. In the end, however, neither of them could attend. Clark initially accepted, but then had to pull out when he learned he had been awarded a research grant totravel to Scandinavia at the same time as the Ampurias course (FP- 26-5-1947). He assured Pericot that it was "with mixed feelings" that he had to turn down the invitation, for "I have never been to Spain & I believe that during the last years Spanish archaeology has made great strides - indeed, I know of no other part of Europe in which discoveries over so wide a field have been made since 1939… Believe me when I say how sorry I am to have missed this opportunity of seeing something of your remarkable work" (ibidem). He said that if the Ampurias course were to be postponed to the third week in September, he would attend and "speak on 'The Contribution of the Mesolithic Cultures to Neolithic Europe!" (ibidem).

Clark was invited to Spain again in 1951, an invitation that was made before Pericot's visit to London and Cambridge in October that year.

Pericot did not stay with the Clarks this time, as the Burkitts insisted on having him and only allowed Clark to invite Pericot to dinner twice – the first time at home and then at Peterhouse College (FP- Clark 25-9-1951). Before his visit to Cambridge, Clark had made the deference of going to London to listen Pericot's lecture at the Prehistoric Society's meeting (ibidem, FP- 23-10-1951). He also showed him the exhibition of Star Carr material at the British Museum of Natural History, South Kensington and other finds from that year's excavation which were not on display "but which we can show you" (FP- 25-9-1951). Regarding his visit to Spain, Clark first suggested November or, if possible, December, but, due to a digestive disorder which still needed medical treatment, he then proposed March (FP- 2-7-1951, FP- 23-10-1951, FP- 15-11-1951, FP- 31-12-1951, FP- 16-2-1952). To begin with, the purpose of the invitation to Spain seems to have been to give a lecture. About this he explained "I would of course be glad to give lectures if English language (with lantern slide illustrations) is adequate. My new book *Prehistoric Europe: the Economic Basis* should be out by then & I have plenty of material on this subject, in particular on the relations between economy & ecology. I could easily use material from Seamer [i.e. Star Carr] where I am now excavating to illustrate this. Alternatively one could lecture on recent work in British prehistory" (FP- 2-7-1951). Several months later he wrote "I would gladly bring lantern slides for lecturing if you wish. It would probably be best for you to introduce it in Spanish & for me to learn a few words in Spanish to indicate the slides. Possibly in view of the language difficulty it would be best to bring many slides to show the recent discoveries in the English Mesolithic" (FP- 23-10-1951). In the end he passed Pericot a draft of the lecture in French and suggested that he gave "the opening part in Spanish, but that while the slides (lantern projections) are showing I make the comments in English - you translating rapidly into Spanish while each slide is still on the screen. In general the slides speak for themselves" (FP- 26-3-1952). To Martínez Santa-Olalla, who, as soon as he found out Clark was going to Spain, contacted him and invited him to give a lecture in Madrid, he explained:

> My primary object is to have a general view of Iberian prehistory, taking special interest in Mesolithic finds but also concerning myself with later prehistoric material. Naturally in such a short visit I shall have to take into account primarily the museum material. I do not know how much there is on view in Madrid yet? …
>
> One of my objects in coming to Spain is to gain an impression of your rich material at first-hand so that I can read the articles & books with more understanding. I am writing a general book on the main lines of European

> prehistory & hope I shall learn something of the rich Iberian archaeology in the course of collecting the materials for this. My travels in the past have always been in German or Scandinavian lands & it will be a great help to spend even a few days in Spain.
> (MuM-O ASO-48-192.1/2, dated 12-2-1952)

Financed by the British Academy (an advantage of having been elected a Fellow earlier that year) (FP- 23-10-1951), his ten-day visit to Spain in the company of his wife Mollie started in Madrid on the evening of 18 March (MuM-O ASO-48-189.1, dated 4-3-1952). There he met Prof. Martinez Santa-Olalla and saw as many of "the collections" as possible (FP- 16-2-1952). From 22 to 29 March 1952 he stayed in Valencia and Barcelona, leaving Pericot to plan his time there. "I shall have to spend my time mainly on the collections, unless it might be possible to see something of the country at the week-end" (FP- 23-10-1951). As was usually the case with visitors to Valencia, it is most likely that Pericot took Clark to see Parpalló and perhaps other sites. We have indirect evidence of this in a letter written by Santa-Olalla to Clark before his visit, in which he tried to convince his British colleague not to take Pericot's advice, as he told him that it was not worth seeing the Parpalló collections in situ in Valencia, as everything had been published (MuM-O ASO-48-191, 16-2-1952). In Barcelona, the Clarks were invited to have dinner at the Pericots' (FP- 26-3-1952). Pericot gave his British colleague a number of publications that he sent by ordinary mail in order to avoid the Clarks having to carry them all the way back (FP- 6-4-1952). Clark also gave Pericot his book *Prehistoric Europe: the economic basis* (Clark 1952) and apologised to him for having cited him as García and not Pericot in the bibliography at the end of the book (ibidem). The return journey took the Clarks to Paris where, as planned (FP- 16-2-1952), they stopped to visit the Institute of Human Palaeontology, which most likely meant a visit to Abbé Henri Breuil.

Clark participated in the IV CISPP in Madrid in 1954 (FP- Garrod 29-3-1954, Thompson 4-4-1954) where he presented a paper on "The Working of Deer and Reindeer Antlers in Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic Times", which he did not send to be published in the proceedings (Beltrán 1956). In 1955, Childe suggested that Pericot could give at least three lectures in London, Oxford and Cambridge, with Clark organising the last of the three (FP- Childe 3-3-1955), but as Pericot's visit took place in July, this did not happen and he does not appear to have been in Cambridge on this occasion. In any case, it is from 1955 that the Clarks seem to have been permanently included in the list of archaeologists and favoured

contacts in Britain to whom Pericot sent *turrón*, a Spanish Christmas treat. They had first received it after the Clarks' visit to Spain in 1952 (FP- 19-12-1952), but nothing indicates that they received it the two following years[8]. In return the Clarks sent tea at least three times (FP- 19-12-1952, 18-1-1959, Mollie Clark 9-12-1968) and cigarettes once (FP- 19-12-1952), although the latter never arrived (FP- Thompson ?-?2-?1953). As explained above, in 1955 Clark had to urge Pericot to send his contribution for the homage to Childe (FP- 14-11-1955; 21-11-1955; ?), which was finally published (Pericot 1955d).

On 8 October 1959, the Harvard Professor, Hallam L. Movius, thanked Pericot for his letter sent in June while he was at the "Symposium on the Social Life of Early Man", sponsored by the Wenner-Gren Foundation at Castle Wartenstein in Austria in June 1959. He added that "both Professor Vallois and Grahame Clark have given me very glowing accounts of the symposium", but as no article by Clark was included in the volume, we can only assume that Clark's information about the conference was indirect, probably communicated by Pericot during Clark's holiday in Spain. The Clarks had been back in Spain in August 1959 for a holiday with their three children. They had asked Pericot for advice on where to go on the northern part of the Costa Brava (FP- 18-1-1959; 27-2-1959; 3-3-1959; 18-4-1959) and for the first fortnight in August Pericot reserved rooms for them at a hotel in Calella, a village near Bagur, where Pericot had a summer house on the coast. During their stay they were invited by Pericot to his home and he also gave them a guided tour of the attractive town of Gerona (FP- Mollie Clark 21-8-1959).

After 1959, however, we have some evidence that Clark had grown closer to Pericot's former colleague in Barcelona, now a professor at the University of Madrid and the most powerful archaeologist in Spain, Martín Almagro Basch (Díaz-Andreu 2010). Almagro invited Clark to give some lectures in Madrid and it seems Pericot only found out about this when Mollie Clark mentioned it in passing (FP- 29-12-1962). Having enquired about it at the British Institute in Barcelona, the director informed Pericot that Clark's visit to Madrid was sponsored by an FUIS travel grant (awarded by the British Council and Spanish General Office for Cultural Relations) and that they planned to travel south to Andalusia. A visit to

[8] The acknowledgements came usually in early January and were written by Mollie Clark, although no letters exist for 1956, 1964, 1966, 1967, 1969 and 1971-4. The last year the *turrón* was acknowledged by the Clark family was 1975, the year he retired.

Barcelona, therefore, seemed unlikely (FP- British Institute, Barcelona 27-3-1963). During their stay in Madrid, Clark wrote to Pericot: "Dear Colleague", he said, "we have been thinking of you since coming here to lecture to Almagro's class. Now we are packing to visit the parts of Spain between Murcia and Algeciras before flying home from Gibraltar. We have such warm memories of Valencia, Barcelona and Calella that it seems wrong not to come this time. But Spain is a very large country & we have very few days before the Easter holidays… We look forward to seeing some of the rock-paintings in the east & south, as well as Los Millares & Antequera… My wife is posting separately some smoked salmon as a small gift to Madame Pericot!" (FP- 30-3-1963). Clark and Pericot (and Almagro) would meet again the following year at the UISPP Permanent Council meeting in Zaragoza, Spain, held from 11-14 September 1964 (Beltrán 1964), although the only published photograph shows Clark next to Almagro[9] (fig. 5.12).

The 1964 trip would be the Clarks' last to Spain. At the end of that year Mollie Clark announced to Pericot that they were going to New Zealand and Australia for six months (FP- 27-12-1963). This trip had a considerable impact on Clark's career, leading him to focus on other continents beyond Europe (Mulvaney 1999). In 1966, in a joint letter, the Clarks explained to Pericot their six-week trip around the world lecturing at various universities across America and their return to New Zealand for their eldest child's wedding (FP- Clark & Clark 9-1-1966). However, Clark's absence from Spain does not mean that he and Pericot did not meet, as they were both frequent travellers and keen contributors to international events. The next time Clark and Pericot met was in Japan at the 8th International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences held in Tokyo and Kyoto in 1968. Pericot and Clark saw each other again in Cambridge, where Pericot gave a lecture in April 1969 and had dinner with the Clarks afterwards (FP- Daniel 21-4-1969). He also spent some days in Cambridge in November 1970. To start with, Clark had also invited him to give a public lecture before members of the university on the Balearic Islands in Prehistory (FP- Clark 14-10-1970),

[9] The photograph published by Cruz Berrocal et al (2005) indicates that this meeting was of the executive committee of the UISPP on 11 September 1960. However, this does not seem to be possible. No such meeting is mentioned in the exhaustive information provided by de Laet (Laet 1970: 1434), whereas he states that there was one in July 1960 in Prague and another in Dublin in July 1961. De Laet also mentions that Pericot was re-elected to represent Spain on the Executive Committee from 1958 to 1962 (ibidem: 1433).

but it seems that he changed his mind: “Professor Clark thinks that there is no need on this occasion to arrange a public lecture, but he himself will look after you on the afternoon and evening of Friday the 13th” (FP-Daniel 26-10-1970). Glyn Daniel had also proposed that he talk informally to students interested in the Iberian Peninsula (FP- Daniel 26-10-1970), but when Pericot announced he was bringing slides, this was changed to a lecture on ‘Recent Work in Spanish Prehistory’ (FP- Daniel 1-11-1970). Pericot was invited to stay in St John’s College for a few days and to dine with Clark in the Hall at Peterhouse (FP- Daniel 21-10-1970, 26-10-1970, 1-11-1970).

Figure 5.13. Martín Almagro with Grahame and Mollie Clark in Zaragozaprobably dated 11 September 1964, at the UISPP Permanent Council meeting (Beltrán 1964). Source: Photo Biblioteca Tomás Navarro Tomás (CCHS- CSIC).

A final note can be added about Grahame Clark and Pericot. Clark participated in the 1973 homage to Pericot. He began his article saying “In adding to the tributes offered to Professor Luis Pericot, I wish to touch upon a theme which bears directly on our understanding of the life of prehistoric man, a subject to which our distinguished and beloved colleague has dedicated so much of his life”. However, the article focused on seasonality, a topic Pericot had barely mentioned in his research (Clark 1973: 1).

Clark's students in Spain: John D. Evans and Michael W. Thompson

Clark sent many students around the world, especially to English-speaking countries (Clark 1989: ch. 6). Some of them, however, remained in Europe, although he acknowledged that "there were no colonial outposts and no British Institutes or Schools to prepare the ground. Fieldwork and excavation were very much in the hands of the various national authorities and Britons could take part only in close conjunction with colleagues in the several nations" (Clark 1989: 133). Despite this, he continued to explain in his book *Prehistory at Cambridge and Beyond* that "the desire to undertake research on the Continent was certainly strong at Cambridge" (ibidem). Clark mentioned many of his students doing research in various parts of the continent, including John D. Evans (ibidem: 130-1, 133), although he failed to mention another of his earliest students, one who saw his transition from a lecturer to a professor, Michael W. Thompson.

John Evans (Fig. 5.11), who had taken a first in the Cambridge Tripos of 1949 and had been elected a Research Fellow of Pembroke (ibidem: 144), was sent to Spain in 1950. Clark never mentioned this to Pericot,perhaps because Evans went to Madrid to work with Martínez Santa-Olalla, the most powerful archaeologist at the time, but one with a lot of enemies (Chapter 2). It was Hawkes who alerted Pericot to Evans being in Spain: "I will tell you however that Clark has a student (student for Doctorate) at Cambridge, Mr [Evans], who will in 1950 come to Spain" (FP- 28-12-1949). In fact, the letters of recommendation that arrived in Madrid were written by Glyn Daniel (MuM-O ASO/9-4, 23-10-1950). Evans was still in Madrid a few months later (FP- Daniel 5-2-1951), but given the difficulties of working there (which were most likely due to his association with Santa-Olalla), he dropped the idea of working on Spanish archaeology and moved to Turkey (FP- Daniel 24-8-1951) and later to Malta (FP- Daniel 16-1-1953). When he was given the chair in London, however, Clark commented to Pericot that "I hope you are pleased that your (& my) pupil, John Evans, succeeded Childe on his retirement from the chair at London" (FP- Clark 10-1-1958).

Regarding Michael W. Thompson, his initial interest had been to look at some of the rock paintings in Eastern Spain. He wrote to Pericot saying that "Mr Miles Burkitt and Dr Grahame Clark, whose pupil I have been, have both spoken of you with the highest regard, and, when I mentioned to Mr Burkitt that I was proposing to go to East Spain this Summer to look at

some of the rock paintings, he suggested I sought your advice… I shall be reaching Barcelona on the 18 or 19 of July and I hope I shall be able to see you in the course of the four days I am spending there" (FP- Thompson 27-6-?1950)[10]. From his initial list of sites to visit he managed to see Cogul in Lerida and Valltorta and Remigia in Castellón (FP- 4-9-?1950). He also wanted to see Parpalló "which your own excavations have made so famous" (FP- 27-6-?1950) and although it is not clear whether he managed to reach the site, he did see the collections in Valencia. He explained that "the engravings are harder to distinguish than I had expected. The Solutrean barbed-and- tanged points are most impressive" (FP- 4-9-?1950). After these visits he went to Santander to see some Palaeolithic art with Joaquín González Echegaray and returned to Britain owing Pericot some £5.

After this, it seems that Clark encouraged him to undertake research on the Iberian Peninsula, a project that ended with his PhD thesis on *Some Mesolithic Cultures of the Iberian Peninsula* (1953). Thompson went to Portugal and in August 1951 he was analysing the flint implements from the Mugem middens (FP- Clark 30-8-1951). When he decided that he wanted to go to Barcelona to study under Pericot, Clark wrote to the Barcelona professor and recommended Thompson as a serious student who had worked with him in each of the three seasons at the Star Carr excavations (ibidem). He arranged for Pericot to be nominated as his supervisor from October 1951 to March 1952, receiving a small fee for this (£10 for the two terms) (ibidem). Thompson spent several months in Barcelona, probably arriving in early November (FP- 27-10-?1951), and during his stay coincided with one of Hawkes' students, Margaret Smith. He may have had a small grant from the CSIC (Spanish Higher Council for Scientific Research), as this was probably the reason Clark wrote to that institution (FP- Thompson, 27-10-?1951).

[10] Only a few of Thompson's letters have any indication of the year in which they were written. Their seriation was first established on the basis of information given by the letters themselves and by collating and contrasting information in other authors' correspondence. Before I sent this book for publication Michael W. Thompson sent me the draft chapter of his time in Spain to be included in an autobiography he was writing. In this draft chapter it is mentioned that "Clark arranged that I should study at Barcelona under Pericot which I did for six months or so in 1951". The letters demonstrate that he either arrived there in November 1950 or in November 1951 and Pericot's nomination seems to indicate that it was the latter, and therefore that he left Spain in 1952.

Figure 5.14. Michael W. Thompson. Reproduced with permission by Michael W. Thompson.

Thompson, however, did not spend the whole time in Barcelona and in February he left the city with Almagro and Ripoll. They were planning to go to the mountainous rock art area of Albarracín, but snow prevented this. Instead they went to Zaragoza and then to Madrid. There he visited the Museum of Natural Sciences where he was struck by "how distinct the Azilian and Magdelanian flint industries in the Cantabrian region are. The

b.b. [backet bladelets][11] blades are particularly interesting but so far as I could see there is no trace of microburins or the microburin technique" (FP- 11-2-1952). From Madrid he moved south to Malaga in Andalusia, where he tried to see the collection of the local expert in Palaeolithic and Mesolithic, who had had to go into exile after the Civil War, Miguel Such Martín (Málaga, 1889-Bogotá, Colombia, 1944). Unfortunately, the collection had been packed away, although he assured Pericot that he was going to be given access to some of it. He was also shown some collections by the commissar of archaeological excavations for the province of Malaga, Simeón Giménez Reyna. He further announced that he was going to Antequera to see the dolmen of Menga and "the other two tombs" (referring to El Romeral and Viera) (ibidem). He then went back to Madrid and from there to Santander (Cantabria), the Basque Country and Asturias, in northern of Spain.

In Cantabria he "spent two or three days … measuring and drawing harpoons & drawing the flints from Valle [Cueva del Valle in Rasines]". He briefly saw Joaquín González Echegaray. He and Father Jesús Carballo, the director of the Santander Provincial Museum of Prehistory, seemed "to be making important discoveries at Puente Viesgo" of Solutrean and Magdelanean in La Pasiega (FP- 24-2-1952). He also went to the Basque Country, starting in San Sebastian in the Museum of San Telmo where he saw the harpoons from Aitzbitarte and Urtiaga. He then went to Bilbao where "I was disappointed with [the Palaeolithic cave of] Santimamiñe as I was shown only a part of the collection & Larrea told me a good part is in Vitoria". After the Basque Country, he moved west towards Asturias, arriving in Oviedo on 24 February. There he received the help of a local scholar, José María Fernández Buelta (1894-1992). He inspected with him what he called the forgeries of Lledía, i.e. the material, including portable art supposedly of Palaeolithic chronology excavated in the Cave of Cueto de Lledías. It is interesting that he identified them as forgeries, as the paintings in the cave, which are also likely to be forgeries (Pablo Arias pers. comm. 12-11-2009) and had been the centre of a discussion at the V International Course of Ampurias in Santander in 1951, were about to be included in a major book by Breuil (Breuil 1952: 387), although with doubts as to their authenticity, and were soon after published as genuine by Jordá (Jordá Cerdá 1956). After Oviedo, Thompson went back to Bilbao in the Basque country, where he saw Larrea again, and then to Vitoria (FP- 6-3-1952). In March he went to

[11] Backet bladelets, a term common in the 1950s to translate the French term "lamelle à dos".

Portugal, where he spent some time in Lisbon waiting for Prof. António Augusto Mendes Corrêa (1888-1959), and then he travelled northwards to Guimarães and Porto (FP- 25-3-1952).

Thompson's exhausting trip around the whole of the Iberian Peninsula came to an end when he headed back to Barcelona, having missed Grahame Clark's lecture there (he still was in Portugal on 25 March). It appears that Thompson stayed in Barcelona for a while longer, as he only commented on his return to England and thanked him for the invitation to dinner in Las Siete Puertas restaurant and also at the Pericots in a letter probably written in February of 1953 (FP-?-?2-?1953). In the same letter he confessed to Pericot, in Spanish, "more and more I agree with you about the start of the Mesolithic in the east of the Iberian Peninsula. It is a very different environment to that of England, without a clear break between the earlier cultures and those that came after"[12] (ibidem). In January 1953, Thompson wrote to Pericot asking him specific questions about the excavation of the cave of Cocina (FP- 19-1-1953). Pericot must not have answered this letter because four months later he received a telegram from Thompson enquiring "ANY NEWS OF LA COCINA. REGARDS THOMPSON" (FP- 9-5-1953). After receiving what he wanted, he duly sent a letter thanking Pericot (FP- 6-6-1953). Michael Thompson finished his thesis on *Some Mesolithic Cultures of the Iberian Peninsula* in the summer of 1953. He was awarded the doctorate in November and published an article soon after (Thompson 1954).

In the same letter of 6 June 1953, Thompson told Pericot that he had put his name down as a referee for a job at Cardiff University (FP- 6-6-1953). This was most likely the post of Assistant Lecturer, the first full-time appointment in archaeology at University College, Cardiff, which was obtained by Leslie Alcock (in Cardiff from 1953 to 1973) (Bill Manning pers. comm., 14-7-2009). Having failed with Cardiff, as there was no possibility of getting a job at the university at that time (as explained in Chapter 2), he had to look for alternatives. Thompson had also rather vaguely mentioned a job in the British Museum (FP- 6-6-1953), but no other information is found in the letters about it. After submitting his PhD he started work as an excavator for the Ministry of Works digging "Roman, Medieval or 18th century monuments". He thought of going to

[12] "Mas y mas me parece que Vd tiene mucha razón acerca del principio del Mesolitico en el Este de la peninsula. Es un ambiente muy distinto de Inglaterra, un cambio sin demarcación clara entre las culturas mas tempranas y las que siguen" (?-?2-?1952)

East Africa to work, for "there is plenty of palaeolithic there" (FP- 4-4-1954). He had also considered doing research on "the kitchen middens of the Tagus Valley in Portugal and intend to go there this summer to try and make a map of them" (FP- 20-1-1954). A year later, however, he explained that he was now working for the Ministry of Works, Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments (FP- 12-1-1955). He went back to Barcelona in 1955, probably for a short visit (FP- 15-2-1955). Since his return to Britain in 1952, Thompson had done a lot of favours for Pericot, locating books for him and giving him information about travel details (FP-?-?4-?1952, FP- 20-1-1954, FP- 15-2-1955, FP- 17-5-1956, FP- 7-1-1957). As explained in Chapter 4, Michael Thompson also introduced Pericot to a friend of his, the wealthy businessman Mr Leslie T. Good, who was interested in rock paintings. This resulted in the arranging of an exhibition at the St George's Gallery in London (see below), for which Thompson produced a small catalogue (Thompson 1960). After the organisation of the exhibition the communication between Pericot and Thompson stopped and was never resumed.

The letters give the impression of the young Michael Thompson as an enthusiastic student, but one for whom detail was not essential, as some times happens at the age he was then: he never included the full date in his letters (exceptional in the context of the whole the Pericot Archive), his writing was usually untidy, unclear and with plenty of crossed-out words. There are many examples in his letters: he did not bother to find out about the exact name of all the three dolmens in Menga he was going to visit before he wrote to Pericot (FP- 11-2-1952), he was doubtful whether he would have the money to be able to finish his trip around Spain (FP- 24-2-1952), he was stopped at the Spanish-Portuguese frontier because his visa had expired three weeks earlier and sent back to Madrid to obtain permission to leave the country (FP- 6-3-1952), he often either did not provide names or misspelled them (González Echegaray is mentioned as "the young fellow there who is becoming a priest" and Jiménez de Reina for Giménez Reyna – although this is a mistake that many Spaniards would also make!). He also sent Pericot a parcel to the wrong address (FP-6-6-1953) and he got into such a state with his finances that Pericot had to lend him some money (FP- 12-1-1955).

In addition to John D. Evans and Michael W. Thompson, in 1960 another Cambridge student shared by Daniel and Clark, John Scantlebury, was awarded a grant by the CSIC (the Spanish Higher Council for Scientific Research) for the academic year of 1960-61 "to study the impressed

(cardial) wares in Spain" (FP- Scantlebury 10-8-1960). He planned to travel around Spain (FP- 15-11-1960, 1-12-1960) with further grants by the CSIC, but no publication seems to have resulted from his work. In the 1970s there were other students, or former Cambridge students, who undertook work in Spain: Antonio Gilman, Richard Harrison, Robert Chapman and Iain Davidson. Given that none of them had been directly sent by Grahame Clark, more information about them can be found below. In the other direction, the only student sent by Pericot, and only for a visit, was Antonio Arribas, who, during his several-month trip to Britain and Ireland, was briefly in Cambridge in the spring or early summer of 1956 (FP- Arribas, 8-7-1956).

The "Early History of Agriculture" project in Spain

During the 1970s, Pericot had some contact with one of Clark's former students and later colleague, Eric Sidney Higgs (1908-1976), and with two of Higgs' PhD students, Iain Davidson (b. 1948) and Geoff Bailey. Higgs had an eclectic past; after many years in other jobs, including being a farmer, he had only moved to Cambridge in 1954 to take a diploma course in archaeology. He was appointed a research assistant in the department in 1956 (by 1968 he had been promoted to assistant director of research) (Bailey in Oxford DNB 2004-: Higgs). He had first been in touch with Pericot in 1960, when he, and later his wife Marion, had contacted him asking permission to open a trial trench at Parpalló to obtain a succession of Carbon 14 dates (FP- ES Higgs, ?-?-1960, M. Higgs 22-6-1960). The lack of ensuing correspondence may indicate that both letters remained unanswered. Years later Higgs became involved in the British Academy project "The Early History of Agriculture". Although to start with this may have been thought of as an inter-university project, it soon became clear that, despite all the universities represented on the standing committee – Belfast, Cambridge, Edinburgh and Oxford – it would be run by Cambridge. Clark argued that it was the logical place for the project to develop, as six of the members of the standing committee had formed part of the Cambridge-based Fenland Research Committee (Fagan 2001; Smith 1997) and as agricultural research was already a research interest at his university (Clark 1972: vii). In 1966, Higgs was appointed as the project director (ibidem: vii)[13]. Extra funds were received from the Wenner-Gren Foundation of New York and the project started in 1967. From that year

[13] Possible tensions related to the early agriculture project, together with Clark's article on invasions (Clark 1966), seem to have soured the relationship between Grahame Clark and Christopher Hawkes.

until 1976, many European countries received visits by Cambridge students working for this project and doing PhDs somehow connected to it. Spain was no exception.

In the archive, the first news about the work of "The Early History of Agriculture" project in Spain comes not from Higgs, but from two Cambridge PhD students. Although there are no letters from Higgs himself, it seems likely that he met Pericot at the time he visited Cambridge to give a lecture in November 1970, as it is around this period that Higgs' interest in Spain, "probably his favourite Mediterranean country", is documented (Bailey in Murray 1999: 555). Even if no encounter with Higgs took place on this occasion, after his lecture Pericot certainly met in Clark's office two of the students involved in the project who were about to start their PhDs on Spanish archaeology, Geoff Bailey and Iain Davidson (Bailey pers. comm. 23-2-2009). After this encounter, both contacted the already-retired Barcelona professor. Geoff Bailey did so in March 1971, mentioning their meeting in Cambridge three months previously and reminding him that he was doing a PhD under Clark. He was interested in taking some samples of shell to be analysed using the O16/O18 technique developed in Cambridge that gave information about climate, dating and seasonality. He wondered whether Pericot could meet him in Barcelona in the first week of April (FP- Bailey, 17-3-1971). A month later he wrote again, apologising for not having been to visit Pericot, as he had had to return to London for an interview. He explained that he had been "working in the north of Spain for about three weeks, and have visited J. Altuna in San Sebastián, Gonzalez Echegaray in Santander and Jordá Cerdá in Salamanca. All have been most helpful in assisting me with my work. I will be returning to Spain next month. May I express the hope of meeting you then" (FP- 21-4-1971). The lack of subsequent correspondence can probably be explained by Bailey's research area being geographically a long way from Pericot's area of influence (there are several hundred kilometres between the Cantabrian coast and Pericot's Catalan-speaking area encompassing Catalonia, the Valencian Country and the Balearic Islands).

In addition to the two letters from Bailey, the Pericot Archive has three from Davidson, the other PhD student associated (indirectly) with Clark, and he is mentioned in many others, mainly relating to job references. His first letter was written soon after Pericot's lecture in Cambridge. In it Davidson explained that he had been advised by his supervisor, Higgs, to

spend the year 1971-72 in Spain (FP- 2-12-1970)[14]. After an initial visit at the beginning of 1971, he obtained a British Council-CSIC exchange scholarship (perhaps with some intercession from Pericot) for 1971-72 and subsequently he was in Spain under a British[15] scholarship (Davidson pers. comm. 8-2-2009). While in Spain he was supervised by Pericot (FP- Higgs 28-6-1974)[16]. Clark also wrote a letter of introduction that opened doors for Davidson in Spain, the most important of which was to Pericot. In Valencia, thanks to Pericot's letter of introduction to Domingo Fletcher Valls, he was allowed to study the materials from the Upper Palaeolithic cave of Volcán in the Museum of the Servicio de Investigación Prehistórica (SIP, the Valencian Service for Prehistoric Investigations, a research institute) (Davidson 1972). In 1972, he also worked with José Aparicio Pérez, a young curator at the SIP museum, on the excavations at Volcán (FP- Davidson, 6-2-2009). These excavations may have been financed by a Wenner-Gren Foundation grant obtained by Pericot (FP- Wenner Foundation 10-11-1972). Davidson's work, as Higgs later described it, was to study "prehistoric sites from the point of view of their economies on the lines developed by Professor Clark" (FP- 28-6-1974). Pericot met Davidson again in Valencia in 1972 and he became impressed with his work (FP- draft letter to G. Clark 2-4-1972). A clear indication of how satisfied Pericot was with Davidson's work was that Davidson was able to obtain radiocarbon dates from the bones he was studying from Parpalló, with Pericot's support, in contrast to Higgs's earlier unsuccessful attempt to gain support for an excavation to obtain samples (Bofinger and Davidson 1977; Davidson 1974).

In 1973 Higgs and his second wife, Helen, supported Davidson's archaeological surveys in Albacete (Davidson 1986: 111-2; Vita-Finzi 1978: 39, figs. 19 and 20). Jarman was also there, but did not take part in

[14] In fact, Higgs and Davidson had already been in Spain the summer before. As Iain Davidson explained to me, "Higgs always travelled with his family. And Bailey and I (and a nurse for the Higgs kids) travelled in his Land Rover to Israel and then back through Greece, Italy, Spain and France in the summer of 1970. The part after Italy was principally so Higgs could show sites to Helen (and we memorably visited Granada and Toledo) but we also went to Parpallo because I might be interested and then to the north (we went into Candamo and Altamira when it was still legally possible) and looked for Asturian middens because Geoff might be" (Davidson pers. comm. 8-2-2009).

[15] A scholarship provided by the Department of Education.

[16] Although how official this supervision was is unclear, given that, in contrast to Michael Thompson's case (see below), the archive does not provide institutional documentation about this.

the survey (Davidson pers. comm. 8-2-2009). In Albacete, Davidson also excavated the Cueva del Niño, which had both Palaeolithic and Levantine art. He later published this together with the person sent by the Spanish government to supervise the work, Federico Bernaldo de Quirós (Davidson et al. 1976) (an analysis was also included in Davidson's unpublished PhD (Davidson 1980a)). Also in that year, they began another survey in the area of Jaca near Cinco Villas (Aragon). For this survey Higgs presented Davidson as his assistant (FP- Higgs 28-6-1974), although it could in fact have been the other way round, as it was planned for the results to be part of Davidson's PhD (FP- Burillo 6-2-2009). For their work in the area of Aragon, they took with them about ten English students and they had to include in their team Francisco Burillo and Joaquín Lostal, two young Spanish students sent by their professor, Antonio Beltrán, as official supervisors (F. Burillo pers. comm. 25-9-2007).

After Davidson's move to Australia in 1974, the work of the "The Early History of Agriculture" project continued in Spain for at least two campaigns in 1974 and 1975. Higgs had to deal with permits for the first time and as late as June 1974 he wrote to Pericot asking for help in obtaining those he had applied for to continue the work in Jaca (FP- Higgs 28-6-1974). With or without permits, in the summer of that year and in the following year they worked in a wide area from Asturias to Lerida. It seems that Higgs was not keen on contacting local archaeologists (P. Bahn pers. comm. 1-2-2009). Their work in Asturias and Cantabria was published by Geoff Bailey and the Jarmans (Jarman et al. 1982: 94-107, 204-7, 233-237), but there does not seem to be anything related to Lerida in the volume. Surveys in Gerona (northern Catalonia), apparently undertaken by the Jarmans (Mike and Heather) and not by Higgs (Bahn pers. comm. 1-2-2009), were also included (Jarman et al. 1982: 237-241). In the book there are also comments about other surveys carried out at selected sites in Salamanca, Cáceres, Badajoz and Huelva (ibidem: 236-7). In the end, therefore, the work undertaken by the Cambridge project in Spain had uneven results. Some surveys (Aragón) were never published, others are just mentioned (Albacete, Salamanca, Cáceres, Badajoz and Huelva), and some, mainly some of those undertaken by Bailey, were included in the published volume of 1982 (North of Spain and North of Catalonia), and in other publications (Bailey 1973; 1978; 1983a; 1983b; Bailey and Davidson 1983). A fourth set, those undertaken by Davidson for his PhD, were better analysed in a series of publications (Davidson 1976a; 1980b; 1983; 1986; 1989). Robert Chapman's criticism of Higgs'

interpretations of megaliths (Chapman 1979; Chapman 1981) were also contested by Davidson (1980b).

Glyn Daniel

Glyn Daniel is the last of the five Cambridge scholars to be discussed in this chapter. As in the case of Dorothy Garrod and Grahame Clark, letters from Daniel to Pericot are only dated from after World War II, starting in 1947. Between that year and 1973 Glyn Daniel sent thirty five missives to Pericot and his wife one to the Clarks about some travel arrangements for Pericot. Three of the four letters sent by Ole Klindt-Jensen about the organisation of a conference on the History of Archaeology also had Glyn Daniel typed in as one of its authors, although they were all only signed by the Danish professor. In addition, Daniel is mentioned in twenty five letters written by others.

Figure 5.15. Glyn Daniel. By permission of the Master and Fellows of St John's College, Cambridge.

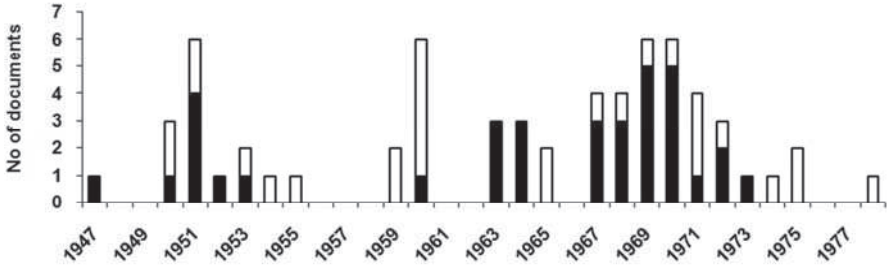

Figure 5.16. Letters in the Pericot Archive from Glyn Daniel (black) and other letters in which Daniel is mentioned (white).

Glyn Daniel (1914-1986) was one of the few of his generation who, despite having a lower middle class family background and attending a grammar school, managed to go to university. After his graduation in 1935, he gained a scholarship to do his PhD research in St John's College, finishing in 1938. He became a Fellow of St John's (1938-86) and for a decade he was its Steward (1946-55). Daniel gave his first course in 1938 and was appointed Assistant Lecturer when he returned from World War II (1946) and a full University Lecturer in 1948. He would only become a professor after Clark's retirement in 1974, a post from which he himself retired in 1981 to become Emeritus Professor (1981-86). His research focused on two major topics, megaliths and the history of archaeology. If we are to believe biographers such as Piggott (1988) but not others such as Hammond (1989: 235), he did not do very well in the first (Daniel 1958; 1960), but excelled in the second (Daniel 1947; 1950; 1967c; 1975). Daniel had another less erudite side to his work: he became editor of the *'Ancient Peoples and Places'* series for Thames and Hudson (1955-86), and, after Crawford's death, of *Antiquity* (1958-86) (Fagan 1982; Peters 1981: 197-202). Beyond the pure academic world, throughout the 1950s and 60s Daniel wasone of the public faces of archaeology through radio and, particularly, the infant media of television. He was voted TV Personality of the Year in 1955 (Mortimer Wheeler had preceded him in 1954) and for many years was director of Anglia Television Ltd (1959-81) (Jordan 1981). Perhaps because of this he was not highly considered by some of his colleagues. To some degree, Pericot was not an exception. There is nothing of this from him in the letters, but his comments about his first reactions when he was asked to write a preface for C.W. Ceram's translation of *Gods, graves and scholars* makes it clear that, despite his positive assessment of the book, he shared with others the feelings of superiority towards popularisers (Pericot 1953a). The only comment about

this that can be found in the correspondence was not made by an archaeologist, but by the wealthy businessman Leslie T. Good. As he said, "[Almagro,] like many others, I find that he did not have a very high opinion of Glyn Daniel who is certainly not averse to little publicity" (Leslie T. Good, 10-2-1959).

Meetings between Daniel and Pericot

Luis Pericot went to Cambridge on five occasions after 1945 (see Fig. 3.10), but he only met Glyn Daniel there twice and on another occasion in London, as the latter was frequently away. The first meeting took place in 1946, as their correspondence starts at the Christmas after Pericot's 1946 lecture on Parpalló in Cambridge, when a Christmas card sent by Pericot merited a letter of thanks from Daniel (FP- 22-1-1947). In his letter, Daniel also mentioned that he had managed to secure a copy of the Leisners' Volume I (Leisner and Leisner 1943). Despite the fact that Daniel was not in Cambridge for Pericot's lecture in 1951, he was able to attend that given to the Prehistoric Society on 10 October 1951. Because Daniel was leaving England that evening, he suggested to Pericot that they could have lunch together at his club, the United University Club, Suffolk Street (FP- 2-10-1951). As Pericot was coming with his wife, he explained that "the ladies entrance of the United University Club is in Whitcombe Street, next round the corner from Suffolk Street. The porter will know where I am, I shall wait for you in the Ladies Drawing Room" (FP- 9-10-1951). Pericot did not return to Cambridge until fourteen years later, when, as explained earlier in the volume, he gave a lecture (perhaps on the archaeology of the Balearic Islands) after taking lunch with Daniel at the Arts Theatre Restaurant (FP- 21-4-1969). A year later he gave another lecture, this time on 'Recent Work in Spanish Prehistory' (FP- 1-11-1970). Accepting Glyn Daniel's invitation, he stayed in a guest room at St John's College from 11 to 15 November (FP- 26-10-1970) and went with the Daniels to the theatre on one of the evenings (FP- 1-11-1970).

It is interesting to note that, in contrast to his colleagues Garrod, Clark and Burkitt, Daniel was never invited to participate in the International Course of Ampurias, despite the efforts he made to be invited. In 1951, and therefore before Pericot's lecture in London, Daniel had announced to him that he was planning to go to Rousillon, and Perpignan in particular, and then drive to Barcelona to visit Pericot in early September 1952 (FP- 24-8-1951) (precisely at the time the Ampurias courses were running). It seems likely that Daniel had heard about the invitations Pericot had either sent or

given verbally to other British colleagues to lecture at Ampurias (including Dorothy Garrod and Grahame Clark, although this had happened in 1947). In his letter he said that he wished "the British Council or some similar body would send me to Spain to lecture. I should be so delighted to see you and the museums at Barcelona and Madrid" (FP- 22-1-1947). Closer to the time of his trip to the south of France and Spain, Daniel further explained his plans to Pericot: "I am going to work in the south of France during September and that I hope to pay a short visit to Barcelona and the Ampurdan between 13 and 18 September. Alas, this will clash with the Curso Internacional de Prehistoria y Arqueologia, and it may be that you and Professor Almagro will be too busy to see me. That will be sad" (FP- 13-8-1952). He continued in the second paragraph "I shall have a motorcar and will be accompanied by my wife and also Colonel de l'Aviation [Philip] Baldwin who is a former pupil of mine [(Daniel 1986c: 94-5)] and who speaks Spanish. My plan after seeing Arnal at Treviers and Ponsich at Perpignan was to drive via Ampurias (I have written to Almagro to ask if we can stay there) to Barcelona and see the Museu (sic) there and then drive to Toulouse via Foix and Bourg Madame (I believe this is not a very good road)" (ibidem). Again, in the third paragraph he repeated his point: "It would be charming to see you and Madame Pericot again but if you are away with the Curso Internacional in Tarragona when I am there, we shall quite understand. This is only my first fleeting visit to Spain. I am looking forward to a much fuller one during the 1954 Congresso" (ibidem). In the end, Pericot invited Daniel to Bagur, but they did not manage to meet. As Daniel explained, he tried to phone Pericot in Bagur but found out that he was in Barcelona. They then passed each other on the road, because when Daniel arrived in Barcelona, he was told that Pericot had gone to Bagur (FP- 16-1-1953). Despite this, Daniel "worked in Barcelona Museum for a while" (ibidem).It is most likely that, although he held the same position as Clark (both were lecturers), it was clear to Pericot that Clark was higher on the scale (and this perception was confirmed when Clark obtained Garrod's chair in 1952).

Despite his promises (FP- 5-2-1951), Glyn Daniel did not attend the IV CISPP (FP- Garrod 29-3-1954). He also excused himself for not being able to attend Pericot's lecture in London on 15 February 1960 (FP- 28-1-1960). This apology was made in the context of the invitation that the British Institute had made to him to lecture on "The Atlantic Seaways: Iberia and Britain in Prehistoric Times" in Barcelona and Madrid. His talk in Barcelona took place on 15 March 1960 and a reception was held afterwards. After a visit to the Archaeological Museum on the following

morning and lunch with Pericot at the invitation of the British Institute, in the afternoon he gave another lecture on "The Megalithic Monuments of Spain" at the University. Pericot offered to take him to visit megaliths in the Gerona area on 17 March (FP- James Craig, 23-12-1959, ?-?3-1960). They must have finished having a tour of Gerona, for years later Daniel commented that "As I drive my wife into Spain from France we will stop at Gerona: and I will try to show her what you showed me of your native town in the middle of the night" (FP- 8-8-1964). Pericot and Daniel would also coincide at a conference in Rome, most likely the VI CISPP (FP- 8-2-1963).

In 1973 Daniel wrote to Pericot: "As you know, I have never been north-west of a line from Oporto to Altamira" (FP- 13-3-1973), although he had planned at least three trips, in 1964, 1965 and 1967. In May 1963 he mentioned this intention for the first time. He and his wife Ruth were intending to "look at rock engravings and megalithic art in Galicia and Northern Portugal" the following year (FP- 7-5-1963). He also mentioned that this perhaps could be combined with a visit to him, "although Barcelona is very far away from your old haunts in Galicia" (ibidem). In August 1964 he explained that "I have never seen places like Cangas de Onis [Dolmen of the Capilla de la Santa Cruz] and Pena Tu [Peña Tu]. I particularly want to see all the decorated tombs so that I can complete a book on megalithic art" (FP- 8-8-1964), a book that he never published (Barratt and Daniel 1981). He thought it would be wise to do these visits first and asked Pericot whether he would inform him about Galicia. Daniel wrote, remembering a meeting between them about which nothing else is mentioned in the other letters, that "I know you enjoyed your stay there very much, and we talked a lot about Galicia when we lunched together in the Hogar Gallego [the restaurant of the Galician Society] in Madrid and you introduced me to percebes [goose barnacle, a mollusc]. I would like to make one main centre in Galicia and make day trips out from it. The Hotel dos Reyes Catolicos at Santiago [one of the best hotels in the city, in the cathedral square] would be a splendid centre: expensive I believe but my wife and I deserve a week or so pleasant holiday there. Your advice on all these things will be very welcome" (FP- 8-8-1964). He ended his letter saying "I look forward to talking about Spanish megaliths in [the restaurant] Los Caracoles in Barcelona" (ibidem). After a yet another cancellation, the Daniels thought again about the project in 1967. For four weeks they wanted "to see the decorated megalithic monuments of north Portugal and Galicia… And please, dear friend, tell us what to see and do in your beloved Galicia. We shall stay, of course, at Santiago de Compostela"

(FP- 16-1-1967). This trip not having taken place in 1967, they proposed to undertake a similar route in May 1974: "I am going to take the boat from Southampton to Bilbao and then travel along the north coast into your beloved Galicia and I propose to stay up to a week in Santiago de Compostela and think of you and eat shellfish. Then my wife and I will drive down through the north of Portugal to Lisbon and then through Madrid and back into France" (FP- 2-8-1973). It is unclear whether this trip ever took place.

Research

On megaliths

The two major strands of Daniel's research, megaliths and the history of archaeology, can be clearly seen in his letters to Pericot. Regarding the first, he purchased (perhaps for Pericot?) the first volume of the Leisners' *Die Megalithgräber der Iberischen Halbinsel* in 1947 (FP- 22-1-1947), a book that Piggott mentions as having led to an impetus in the study of Neolithic chambered tombs in Britain (Piggott 1988: 354). He also sent some offprints of his work and asked Pericot whether there were long barrows (allées couvertes) in Catalonia "(I am thinking of Puig Rodo, Torre del Moro, Arzabal, Jentillari)… I have been particularly interested in the long barrows of the Aveyron [in the Midi-Pyrénées] where our friend M. Louis Balsan has been finding in his long barrows with rectangular chambers curious objects like the ones figured by you in your book [he was referring to (Pericot 1925c)] p.50 fig 14 and plate XII. These very clearly show a close relationship between the Aveyron and N.E. Spain; where did the long barrow develop? In the south of France, or does it exist in N.E. Spain" (FP- 20-7-1950).

Pericot sent him his recently published book on the *Catalan megalithic burials and the Pyrenaican culture** (Pericot 1950d). Daniel's letter of 5 February 1951 bears a clear resemblance to his review of the book published in *Man* (Daniel 1952) (and not in *Antiquity* as he had informed Pericot (FP- 5-2-1951). He commented that "although you say this is a second edition [of Pericot 1925], this is practically a new book, and I am most excited by it, especially by its treatment as well of the south French material". He also added:

> Here are three specific points:
>
> (a) what are we to make of the stratigraphy at Boun-Marcou? Does it really establish a pre-Beaker phase in the south French megaliths?
>
> (b) In your conclusions you date the earliest megaliths to your period XX e.g. Font del Roure i.e. from 3,000 to 2,300. As you know I believe that there are no megalithic monuments in Iberia before 1900 B.C but no one can be certain in these matters
>
> (c) I do not expect in south France and north-west Spain to find long barrows like the British ones. Those are regional developments in northern Europe. But I do expect to find tumulus ovales, and surely Puig Roig (p. 43 of your book) is as much a tumulus ovale (sic) as one could wish for.
> (FP- 5-2-1951)

In 1952, also in *Man*, Daniel wrote a note on "The Date of the European Megalithic Tombs" contrasting the Leisners' and Pericot's long chronology with dates going back to 2500 BC with that of others, including Almagro, who placed the starting date in 2000 BC (Daniel 1951a). He encouraged Pericot to send a short letter to *Man*, as "the editor and I are anxious to start a correspondence and general discussion on this interesting problem" (FP- 10-2-1951). Several months later he mentioned that the article "has now given rise to a correspondence in which Professor Childe, Professor Piggott, Mr T.G.E. Powell and Miss Sanders have all taken part. I do hope you may feel inclined to write a letter to *Man* and give us your ideas" (FP- 24-8-1951). And even later "Do write something for *Man*; I am sure Miles Burkitt or any of us would be delighted to look over the letter from the point of view of English - but you seem to me anyway to write most excellent English" (FP- 2-10-1951). In fact, there was an earlier article in the *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* (1949) by Daniel and Powell (Daniel and Powell 1949), in which chronology was discussed. In 1950, Hawkes would mention with regard to the chronologies mentioned on pages 196-197 of Pericot's *Primitive Spain**, that he thought that "2500 seems probably *too* early; Leisner has suggested 2200, and Daniel doubts much before 2000, which is of course the Santa Olalla date. Somewhere in the vicinity, for me, is the true beginnings of Los Millares; and if then Childe is right in thinking of a total time-span of 500 years maximum for the Vasos Campaniformes [Bell Beakers], then they could well start in Spain 2100/2000, and end in Britain 1600/1500" (FP- Hawkes 13-7-1950).

It is interesting to note that, although Daniel wrote a review of Pericot's book, it seems the latter did not reciprocate. This, despite the fact that Daniel had practically asked him to: "I have sent you a copy of my *Prehistoric Chamber Tombs of England and Wales* which was published

late last year by the Cambridge University Press. If you write a notice of it in any journal I should be glad to read it" (FP- 5-2-1951). Perhaps, however, one should not read too much into this, as Pericot had previously written a note on another publication by Daniel, that on the Three Ages (Daniel 1943) (Pericot 1944c). Daniel also wrote a review of Pericot's *Primitive Spain** (Daniel 1951b). He sent it to Pericot saying "in case you have not seen this note in *Man*, I am sending you a copy for your files. I am making all my students in Cambridge read your *La Espana* [sic] *Primitiva* because I do regard it, as I say in the review, as the most excellent available introduction to Spanish prehistory" (FP- 24-8-1951). The note was indeed very positive "this book" – it began – "fills a need that has been very pressing for many years – the need for a compact, comprehensive, clear and cheap summary of Iberian prehistory. … and provides, for a pound, an extremely well balanced and well illustrated account … Dr. Pericot is scrupulously fair in his statement of controversial issues; and in dealing with chronology, that most controversial of archaeological issues, while presenting his own scheme, he includes for comparison those of Bosch Gimpera, Santa Olalla and Martin Almagro… His well produced book … is indispensable to all students of western Europe in pre-Roman times" (Daniel 1951b). A translation of the book was considered by Methuen (FP- Salby 19-10-1951), but never happened, despite Pericot's efforts.

In 1951, Daniel showed an interest in expanding his area of research to include Spain: "What I am hoping to do now if [i.e. is] to try and relate the British monuments to our knowledge of the French and Spanish monuments. I am going to France again in March" (FP- 5-2-1951). He may have been referring to his note for *Man* (Daniel 1951a). Daniel visited the Catalan area in the summer of 1952, although failed to see Pericot, as explained in the previous section. He would return to the area in 1960, when on his visit to Gerona with Pericot they probably saw some of the megaliths there. As explained above, he also planned trips to see megaliths in western Spain in 1965, 1967 and 1974.

In October 1951, a first meeting of the Megalithic Commission was held in Varagnac. As Daniel explained, "I am going myself to Paris on the night of October 10 to represent the University at the Archaeocivilisation Congress and the first meeting of the Megalithic Commission. Mr T.G.E. Powell is representing Liverpool. Will you be there?" (FP- 24-8-1951, see also 2-10-1951). This commission was most likely linked to the new activities organised in the III CISPP held in Zürich a year earlier. These

would then result, after the V CISPP in Hamburg (1958), in the organisation of symposia and colloquia. These included the meeting on the European Neolithic (Czechoslovakia 1959) (Laet 1970) and a series of 'Atlantic colloquia' that met for the first time in Brest (Brittany, France) in 1961 (Giot 1963). Daniel only mentioned them to Pericot from their second meeting at the 2nd Atlantic Symposium in Groningen in 1964 (Waals 1966): "I was sorry there was nobody there from Spain", and he added "there are rumours that the 3rd Symposium is to be in Spain next year and I hope Almagro is organising this. De Laet plans to organise one in Ghent in 1967" (FP- 17-4-1964). In the end, the third Colloquium was organised in Moesgård (Denmark) in 1973 (Daniel 1973). Daniel seemed very keen on involving Pericot in it: "Dr Poul Kjaerum has just been in Cambridge arranging with me the details of the Aarhus Conference next May, and he tells me that you have not yet replied to our invitation. This letter is to urge you to come and to say how very much I hope we will meet there in Denmark for what promises to be a most profitable and interesting week's conference" (FP- 17-1-1969). Pericot, however, could not go: "bad news that you cannot get to the Aarhus conference. Your presence would have been most welcome. The Iberian representation so far is only Vera Leisner, although Almagro is sending a paper" (FP- 11-4-1969). The fourth symposium was held in Ghent in 1975 (Laet 1976)[17], but once again Pericot did not attend. Also in relation to megaliths, Daniel showed Pericot interest in going to the Fifth Pan-African Congress in the Canary Islands in September 1963 to see the "curious megalithic art which appears on rocks in the Islands and I would like to have seen it personally", but as this coincided with the Eighth International Congress on Classical Archaeology in Paris that he wanted to attend, he announced he was unable to go (FP- 7-5-1963)[18].

Perhaps in the context of the Megalithic Commission and the Atlantic Colloquia and inspired by inventories such as those produced on the Iberian Peninsula (Leisner and Leisner 1943; 1956-1998) and in Scotland (Henshall 1963-1972), Germany (Sprockhoff 1965-1975) and France (Cordier 1963; Gruet 1967), Pericot encouraged the organisation of an inventory of megalithic burials in Catalonia (Ripoll Perelló 1989). A series of corpora was published, starting in 1961. He must have sent the first two

[17] The 5th Atlantic Colloquium took place in Dublin in the year of Pericot's death (1978).

[18] A few months later he also apologised for not being able to attend the 36th Congress of Americanists in Spain in September 1964. Instead, he mentioned that Dr Bushnell would be going (17-4-1964).

(and perhaps also the third) to Daniel (Batista Noguera 1961; 1963; Esteva Cruañas 1964), as the Cambridge lecturer mentioned that he had "indeed received the first volumes of the Corpus of megalithic monuments and will be drawing attention to them in ANTIQUITY" (FP- 17-4-1964), although he does not seem to have fulfilled this promise[19]. Still, in 1973 Daniel wrote to Pericot about another meeting: "Professor Hawkes tells me he is going to an Atlantic Conference in Galicia. What is this and why have I not heard about it?" (FP- 13-3-1973). He must have been referring to the National Archaeological Congress held in Porto (Portugal) in 1973. In the list of participants only Hawkes was included among those coming from England (CNA 1974).

On 6 August, 1964 Daniel sent a list of fifty radiocarbon dates to Pericot explaining that he was going to give a lecture analysing them to the Society of Antiquaries in London in October. He explained: "I have divided my list into three (1) the dates that come from megaliths or comparable structures and may well be from primary contexts, (2) dates which, while they come from megaliths, may not be from primary contexts, or if they do, may be suspect - like the fossil wood used at St-Michel, (3) a few dates from non-megalithic sites associated directly with Megaliths: this list could of course be much extended". The letter continued: "I now write to ask if you would be so good as to do these things (1) correct any mistakes I or my typist may have made, (2) tell me of any dates, especially for list 1 which I have missed. I shall also be grateful if you can supply laboratory numbers where I have not got them, and for any general comments you care to make. When I have your comments and those of the thirty other people to whom I am sending these lists, I will make a revised list for my Antiquaries lecture on October 22, and this I will send to you together with an extract of any interesting comments I receive. I will much value this cooperation" (FP- 6-8-1964). The list was subdivided into Northern Europe (3 sites, 4 dates), the Netherlands (1, 1), Great Britain (5, 9), Ireland (4, 6), Brittany (6, 12), France other than Brittany (2, 4), Spain and Portugal (3, 4) and Malta (4, 5) and was followed by another list of "megalithic dates about which there is some uncertainty" (6,10) and a few associated dates with megalithic cross-datings (11, 15). Daniel explained that he had also sent the list to other archaeologists working on Iberian prehistory, Antonio Arribas, Martin Almagro and Vera Leisner, and wondered whether he should also

[19] The nine volumes of the megalithic corpus published were those of Cura Morera and Ferrán Ramis 1970; 1971; Esteva Cruañas 1964; 1965; 1970; 1979; Padró et al. 1975.

send it to Juan Maluquer de Motes (FP- 6-8-1964). In contrast to the traditional model that held that megaliths came in two waves from the Eastern Mediterranean, through his analysis of the radiocarbon dates Daniel was able to argue a new hypothesis. He proposed that there had been two separate traditions in northern and southern Europe and that megaliths dated from the fourth and third millennia BC (Daniel 1967b; 1970; 1973). This revolutionary proposal was later brilliantly explored by his student, Colin Renfrew (Renfrew 1973a).

On the history of archaeology

As mentioned above, although Pericot never wrote a review of Glyn Daniel's 1950 book on megaliths, he had previously written a note on his earlier publication, *The Three Ages* (Daniel 1943; Pericot 1944c). Daniel mentioned in one of his letters: "I was very interested in your note in Ampurias which reviewed my little essay The Three Ages. I have quoted it in a note for *Man* in March, of which I shall send you a copy" (FP- 5-2-1951). To start with, however, Pericot did not include history of archaeology amongst his interests. Despite this, he regularly published institutional reports, obituaries and celebratory notes (among the first, those of Pericot 1930c; 1943a; 1944a; 1948a; 1949g, and regarding the second and third categories those of Pericot 1940a; 1940b; 1945a; 1948c; 1949a; 1949b).

As was the case with many scholars of his generation, Pericot's concern for the history of archaeology came about later in his life. He even discussed writing an autobiography with a possible sponsor (the businessman William Bryant). This project was first mentioned in 1973 by the American: "I am hopeful of seeing some day a written record of your career and perhaps another one of the archaeologists that you have worked with like Breuil, Childe, Schulten, Bosch. Did you know Bonsor or any of those who worked early in the South of Spain? … The main object as far as my interest goes is that all this sees the public light so your experiences will not be lost" (FP- Bryant 28-10-1972). And a few months later: "I think it is wonderful that you have made the decision to do a book which will preserve for all time some of the "outside" figures in Spanish archaeology" (FP- Bryant 28-4-1973). However, some time later Bryant commented "I, too, wanted to say a few words about this projected book on your foreign friends who had worked in Spain. After your outline which you sent some months ago I wondered if the book shouldn't be limited to those already not living or to some cut-out date which would

have the same purpose - such as 1950. I hope you didn't think in suggesting this memoir that I had any self-interest. I only thought your memories of such famous men as Schulten, L'Abbe Brueil [Breuil], Bossor [Bonsor] etc. should be preserved for all time" (FP- 15-9-1973). It is unclear, however, whether Pericot ever started this book which, in fact, would have to a great extent made Chapters 4 to 6 of this book redundant.

Also in 1973 the Danish archaeologist Ole Klindt-Jensen and Glyn Daniel began planning the conference on the history of archaeology which would finally result in the celebrated *Towards a history of archaeology* (Daniel 1981). The first plan was to meet in Aarhus in May 1974 (it was later postponed to May 1975) and, perhaps because of this, Klindt-Jensen became the main organiser of the event (FP- Klindt-Jensen 2-11-1974). With regard to the conference, Klindt-Jensen explained to Pericot that it was "restricted to 20 members selected by invitation, and this letter is to invite you. The conference will assemble at Moesgård on Thursday evening, 22 May 1975. Friday and Saturday will consist of papers and discussions at Moesgård. Sunday morning the conference will move to Copenhagen; the afternoon will be devoted to visiting sites of interest to the history of archaeology at Jægerspris. The closing sessions will be on Monday morning and the conference will disperse at lunchtime". He also told Pericot that the organisers hoped "that a representative of each country will provide a short chronological summary of the development of archaeology in that country" (FP- Klindt-Jensen 2-11-1974). More specifically, he added, "you are asked to contribute a paper of not more than 4000 words on some general aspect of the history of archaeology, or on a particular aspect relating to your own country or region. These papers will be circulated beforehand, but all those contributing papers will be allowed time for supplementary statements leading up to a discussion. The papers and summaries of the discussions will be subsequently printed in England, and if this conference is a success it is hoped to organize a second bigger conference in Cambridge in 1978 or 1979" (ibidem).

Because of the IX CISPP congress at Nice (see Figure 2.5), the date had to be postponed again, first to 1977 (FP- Klindt-Jensen 1-3-1975) and then to 1978: "The meeting is planned to take place August 28-September 2nd (including an excursion) as part of the activities of the International Union of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences. It will be held at Moesgård, 8270 Højbjerg on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the University of Aarus" (FP- Klindt-Jensen 10-3-1978). In the end Pericot was too ill to attend (he died that October), and the main organiser, Klindt-Jensen, died

before its publication, leaving Daniel to finish the proceedings (Daniel 1981).

Daniel never published an article in Spanish, although some of his books, all of them on the history of archaeology, were translated into that language. Perhaps because of his inside knowledge of the publishing business (see below), Daniel was, after Childe, the most successful British scholar in having books translated into Spanish. His *The Idea of Prehistory* saw the light in Spanish in 1960 and several further editions were published (Daniel 1960 (1947)). Much later, another of his books was translated, *A Hundred and Fifty Years of Archaeology* (Daniel 1987). He was also invited to write an introduction to a Catalan translation of Childe's book, *Man makes himself* (Daniel 1967a).

Daniel as an editor

One of Daniel's major professional activities was as an editor. He first became involved as the editor of a new series of serious popular archaeology books, the 'Ancient Peoples and Places'series, in 1956. However, this came somewhat late for Pericot's interests. As mentioned above, Pericot had tried to arrange a translation of his *Primitive Spain** soon after it had been published in 1950. He was successful in having it translated into French (Pericot 1953c), but not English. He first approached Methuen (FP- Salby 19-10-1951) and even had a possible translator – Clark's student, Michael W. Thompson (FP- Salby 31-10-1951) – and the British Council in Madrid considered helping with the organisation of this (FP- Starkie 10-6-1950), but then nothing happened. Pericot offered it to another publisher, John Lane, and they asked him to send it for their consideration (FP- 17-9-1954), but there is no further correspondence about this. The same occurred after initial interest shown by Yale University Press (FP- 18-9-1958).

An American student, Sylvia Armbruster, came onto the scene at this point. After her stay at the excavations undertaken by the American Bryant Foundation in La Alcudiaduring the summer of 1958 (FP- 26-5-1958), in her letters she spoke about translating the book, but said "I have simply put it off until I shall have organized my thesis" (FP- 17-10-1958). More than two years later the translation had finally started, but she considered that a lot of changes were needed. She finished her letter saying that "in view of the rewriting [?], editing [?], shortening and additional sections required, and because my agent is in fact very hesitant about trying to sell

a translation, he [Armbruster's agent] suggests that we regard this as a new book coming out in English by Pericot and Armbruster. I suggest the title Ancient Spain: Before the Romans…" (FP- 29-5-1961). Communication ended at this time. In 1970, the Scottish archaeologist John Mercer approached Pericot saying that he had been reading *Primitive Spain** and that he considered it should be translated perhaps for Pelican or Phoenix (FP- Mercer 13-3-1970). By then, however, it seems that Pericot had dropped all intentions of publishing an English translation, as there is no more correspondence on this matter.

In fact he had lost the best opportunity to publish an English translation of *Primitive Spain** many years earlier. During the years the megalithic chamber tomb of Barclodiad y Gawres in Anglesey (Wales) was being excavated, somehow the head of archaeology at the National Museum of Wales in Cardiff, Savory, was commissioned by Glyn Daniel to write "an English book on Spanish prehistory" (FP- Savory 14-12-1955) for the 'Ancient Peoples and Places' series. This was a newly created series (the first book was published in 1956[20]) intended for students and general readers and therefore they were short (about forty thousand words), easy to read and well-illustrated volumes (Fagan 1982). Hubert Newman Savory (1911-2001) was, of course, not new to the subject he had been asked to write about. In 1936-38 he had received a Randall-MacIver fellowship at Queen's College Oxford to undertake research into the archaeology of the Iberian Peninsula. Soon after, in 1939, he had been appointed to the National Museum of Wales in Cardiff, the institution for which he worked for the rest of his active professional life and at which he was head of archaeology for many years (1955-1976) (Brewer 2001; Lewis 2000). Although this post forced him to focus on Welsh archaeology, he still maintained an occasional interest in Spanish and Portuguese themes. He published a series of reviews in *The Antiquaries Journal* (six, from 1947 to 1971) and a couple of articles (Savory 1949; 1950), finally managing to publish his book on *Spain and Portugal. The prehistory of the Iberian Peninsula* for Thames & Hudson in 1968. He had already approached Pericot in 1955 asking for his help in connection with this (FP- National Museum of Antiquities of Wales 14-12-1955), a request that was probably never answered, as there are no more letters from him in the archive.

[20] Pericot was unlucky. Five years earlier a certain George Salby had assured him that his book *Primitive Spain* had been sent to "Messrs. Methuen & Co., with a view to publishing an English translation of the same" (FP- Salby, 19-10-1951). Although Mr Salby promised that he would write Pericot as soon as he heard from them, there is no other letter about this in the archive.

If Daniel had to wait thirteen years to see the publication of Savory's book for the 'Ancient Peoples and Places'series, he would also have to wait the same length of time for the book he commissioned from Pericot for the same series. After their encounter at the VI CISPP in Italy, Daniel wrote to Pericot: "You will remember that when we talked together in Rome I mentioned the possibility of you doing a volume on the Balearic Islands in the 'Ancient Peoples and Places' Series, and I am now writing to ask you formally whether you would do this for us?" (FP- 8-2-1963). He explained that the series had two books in production, that of Savory and another by Arribas (1964). Only forty thousand words were needed with 48 pages of plates.

Pericot was not a bad choice for a book on the prehistory of the Balearic Islands. From early in his career he had been publishing reviews of the archaeological developments in that part of Spain (Pericot 1923c; 1923d; 1928d; 1928g). However, his active engagement with Balearic archaeology only dates from the 1950s. The possibility of undertaking research there may have occurred to him during the trip included in the 1950 International Course of Ampurias (Pericot 1950b) (that of the IV CISPP in 1954 had to be cancelled (FP- Piggott 3-4-1954)). It is most likely, however, that the idea only came in 1955, when, after the sudden change in the structure of state-controlled archaeology in Spain and the setting up of the National Service of Archaeological Excavations (SNEA, Servicio Nacional de Excavaciones Arqueológicas) (see Chapter 2), Pericot was given the post of Delegate for the Zone of Catalonia and the Balearic Islands. His involvement in the archaeology of Mallorca was also encouraged by the private funding he secured from the American millionaire William Bryant. They had met for the first time during the first of Pericot's trips to the US in May 1952 and again in August 1956, when Bryant commented "I enjoyed every minute of our chat last evening and hope it works out that you will be able to visit Vermont [his home state]" (FP- Byrant 29-8-1956). Their plans for Mallorca seemed to be well underway the following year (FP- Bryant 24-2-1957) and the excavations of the Roman site of Pollentia near the town of La Alcudia on the island of Mallorca started that very summer under the direction of Miguel Tarradell, to whom Pericot had delegated the work (Doenges 2005: 29). Also linked to his interest in Mallorca, in 1958 Pericot published a book on the prehistory of the Balearic Islands (Pericot 1958a).

In November 1963, Pericot assured Mr Peters of the Thames and Hudson office in London that he was going to finish his text by the end of March

the following year (FP- Eric Peters 3-12-1963). Soon after, however, he announced to Daniel that he could not meet the deadline (FP- Daniel 17-4-1964). He confessed to Hawkes a year later that "I write under the pressure of editors, fighting with my growing laziness" (BOD-Hawkes, 13-8-1965). The delay would be much longer than Thames and Hudson and Daniel expected: "Thank you for your letter, with the good news that the Spanish text will be finished in the next few months" (FP- Eric Peters 9-2-1967); "how does your book go?" (FP- Daniel 12-5-1967); "I am delighted to know that your book is well on its way to completion" (FP- Daniel 15-1-1968); "It is very nearly a year since we met on the occasion of your visit to London. You then showed me the rough draft of the Spanish MS. of the above-mentioned book, which you said you hoped to finish by the end of 1969. How do matters now stand?" (FP- Eric Peters 19-2-1970). "I was glad to receive your letter of 5th March with the good news that you expect to finish the Spanish text of your book before the autumn of this year" (FP- 9-3-1970).

Thames and Hudson appointed Mrs Margaret Brown (née Margaret Smith, one of Hawkes' former students) as a translator for the book (FP- Eric Peters 9-2-1967), but Pericot's delay in sending her the text instigated Hawkes' interference: "She has 2 niños [children], and needs to have the money! but has reserved her time *con intención especial para Vd.* [especially for you.] 3 months have passed: no book comes! Nor any intimation of news, ¿*When* will it come? She can translate not only from Castilian, but French and German too; ¡She could have money for translations of other books! But her fidelity to you has now restrained her. The strain becomes too great; she offers through me, accordingly, a cry of great *Dolores* [a painful cry]: ¡Quam diu, Domine, Quam diu! [when, my Lord, when?] If you could promise a fixed date, even if not now, but certainly at a time you could certify, she could arrange her commitments to suit" (FP- Hawkes 8-12-1967, paragraphs have been put together). The book was finally finished in 1970, "I am delighted to hear you have been in England, with your book, and I am sure it has delighted Margaret Brown more still" (FP- Hawkes 24-11-1970); "Your Spanish text of The Balearic Islands has now gone to Mrs Brown, and I trust that she is busily at work translating it" (FP- Eric Peters 24-11-1970). The first draft of the translation was ready soon after (FP- Brown 8-3-1971)[21]. There was a final hiccup in Pericot's publication due to the amount of corrections Pericot

[21] The exchange of letters provides information about the subsequent issues regarding the translation (FP- 31-3-1971; 9-5-1971; 22-7-1971; 6-7-1971; 12-7-1971; 1-11-1971; 21-1-1972).

sent on 24th May (FP- Eric Peters 7-6-1972). Given the evident unhappiness of the editor, Pericot apologised "I am very sorry about my last corrections. There are wholly my faults. So I accept any penalty on the "honorarium" you may find necessary" (FP- draft letter by Pericot written on or after 7-6-1972). Finally, the book seems to have been published in 1973 ("The publication date for your book is 29 January" (FP- Eric Peters 1-12-1972)) (Pericot 1972). Pericot then discussed with Thames and Hudson the 'translation' of his Balearic book back into Spanish by the Destino publishing house (FP- draft letter by Pericot to Eric Peters, after 10-4-1972). This is interesting given that Destino had already published *Las Islas Baleares en los tiempos prehistóricos* in 1958 (Pericot 1958a). The second edition of this book in Destino, the alleged 'translation', had the same title as the 1958 book (Pericot 1975a).

An interesting anecdote and one that shows on the one hand that Pericot had some commercial sense and on the other perhaps a presentiment of how important tourism would become for archaeology in the following years, relates to a guide or leaflets for tourists Pericot was planning to write to advertise his *The Balearic Islands* book in the 'Ancient Peoples and Places' series. He sent some examples of what he meant to Eric Peters at Thames and Hudson[22]. However, the idea was dismissed: "I have discussed with our publicity manager the question of our printing a leaflet along the lines you proposed, for the benefit of English visitors to the Balearic Islands. He is of the opinion that the cost of producing such a prospectus cannot be justified in terms of prospective increased sales. He respectfully suggests that such publicity comes within the competence of the local Tourist Board which, in drawing attention to the principal archaeological sites and indicating how they can be reached, could at the same time make mention of your book. I am therefore returning the draft text and sketch maps which you were so kind as to send me" (FP- Eric Peters 25-9-1972). Later, however, Peters suggested that "one of our authors, an archaeologist, has pointed out that there is a local publishing house in this country which brings out a series of small books entitled 'Discovering Archaeology in ...'. These were, until recently, confined to various regions of England but they have now produced, as an experiment, 'Discovering Archaeology in Denmark'. You wrote on 27th December last to say that Roselló Bordoy and you had written a small guide on the

[22] "The leaflets for tourists to which you refer in your letter have not yet arrived. However, there is no hurry, since we shall not be publishing the book until later this year (FP- Eric Peters 7-6-1972); "You will receive the text of the leaflets for tourists as soon as possible" (draft letter by Pericot written on or after 7-6-1972).

archaeology of the Balearic Islands - presumably in Spanish - and it occurs to me this firm might be interested in bringing out an English translation or adaptation of your guide. Here is their address, should you think it worth your while to write to them: Shire Publications Ltd., Aylesbury, Bucks." (FP- 17-4-1973). There is no evidence in the archive that Pericot ever contacted Shire publications. This was perhaps due to the nature of the small guide – just one *folio* sheet (a sheet slightly bigger than A4, commonly used in Spain until the 1990s) folded in two and containing several routes. One covered the southeast of Mallorca and another the east of the island; there was another for the Palaeochristian monuments in Menorca and one more covering Alaior and Ciudadela (Roselló Bordoy pers. comm. 15-11-2009).

When Pericot's book on the Balearic Islands was close to publication, Daniel, wearing his other hat as editor of *Antiquity*, asked him who he thought would be a suitable person to review the book. He wondered whether Professor John D. Evans of the Institute of Archaeology in London would be a good choice, although he assured him that he would value any suggestion. In the end, Daniel must have asked Leslie Grinsell (1907-1995), a specialist on British megaliths, who had recently retired as Keeper of Archaeology at the Bristol City Museum. The review had a very favourable tone (Grinsell 1973). Another review was published two years later in *American Anthropologist*. This was rather descriptive and perhaps not as positive:

> this reviewer is immediately disarmed by the Preface, in which the author admits that he is writing a "popular account which pupils and young colleagues will soon better" (p. 8), and that he may have overemphasized architecture to the exclusion of artifacts (p. 9). It appears both from the Preface and the text that Professor Pericot's main interest in the Balearics has been in clearing and restoring some of the massive prehistoric stone structures, and in collaborating with the Bryant Foundation in the excavation of the Phoenician city of Pollentia, Majorca. (Phillips 1975: 149)

Daniel does not seem to have been very upset with Pericot's delay in handing in his manuscript for the Balearic Islands book, because in the same year the book was finally published, he contributed to Pericot's *Festschrift* (Daniel 1973).

In addition to Daniel's involvement in the 'Ancient Peoples and Places'series, prior to what has just been discussed, we also find him as editor of the journal *Antiquity*. This involvement took place very soon after

he had started on the 'Ancient Peoples and Places'series, following O.G.S. Crawford's death in 1957. Daniel was able to overcome the crisis of 1960, which Kendrick explained to Pericot in this way: "Just before Xmas we had news that there was a crisis in the affairs of 'Antiquity' & that it could come to a stop in January, 1961. So Glyn Daniel has been forced to collect £5000 to buy the paper from its publishers. The response has been very good indeed, & he says the magazine is already saved. I think we all felt we ought to do something in memory of O.G.S. Crawford" (FP- Kendrick 29-12-1960). Pericot had already collaborated with the journal with a small review of two articles by the Austrian Prof. Menghin, then living in Argentina (Kohl and Pérez Gollán 2002), on the chronological sequence he had established for Patagonian sites and a comparison between Patagonian rock art and Upper Palaeolithic cave art in Europe, which Pericot thought doubtful (Pericot 1955e) (FP- Crawford 2-9-1954; 16-9-1954-09-16; 25-10-1954; 27-6-1955, the only letters from Crawford in the Pericot Archive). Daniel never asked Pericot to write a scientific article for *Antiquity*, although he occasionally asked him for information. When the Tito Bustillo cave paintings were found at Ribadesella in northern Spain he asked Pericot who he should he write to about this (FP- 3-2-1969), only to thank him a week later for having sent an article published about it in a widely circulated magazine, *Blanco y Negro* ("I am going to have the article translated and hope that we may get for ANTIQUITY some of the original illustrations. It really was most kind of you to send this to me so quickly" (FP- 11-2-1969)). He also asked Pericot once to review an article (FP- 12-5-1967), only to have to remind him about it months later (FP- 15-1-1968). Finally, Pericot published a review of José Mascaró's book on Balearic prehistory in *Antiquity* (Pericot 1969).

Daniel also became involved in radio and in television. He first started to work with the media after World War II, when he sent short articles for publication in the BBC's *The Listener* magazine. For six years from 1952 he presented an archaeological quiz game, *Animal, Vegetable, Mineral?* Glyn Daniel chaired a panel of experts that included Sir Mortimer Wheeler, V. Gordon Childe, Geoffrey Bushnell and others. Wheeler was named "Television Personality of the Year" in 1954, as was Daniel a year later. Subsequently, with Paul Johnstone, he organised *Buried Treasure,* a programme providing information about archaeological subjects varying from Palaeolithic art to archaeological science. Daniel was a member of the board of directors of Anglia Television from 1959 to 1981 and stimulated Anglia to produce some highly acclaimed archaeology programmes. He also continued to work with the BBC. In 1966-67, for

example, he organised a BBC series on "Archaeology and the Origins of Civilization" (subsequently converted into his *The First Civilizations: The Archaeology of Their Origins* (Daniel 1968c paperback edition, Daniel 1971; Hammond 1989: 236; Jordan 1981).

However, the earliest letter in the Pericot Archive about the small screen does not refer to Daniel's role in British television, but to him appearing on Spanish television, a possibility mentioned by the director of the British Institute in Barcelona, the Cambridge-educated classicist, James Craig (Adams 2005), when Daniel visited the city ("It has occurred to Mr Traversi [(Blackburn 2005)] and me that this experience might be used, for a television appearance here. There is, of course, the difficulty of language but perhaps this might be overcome by a skilful translator" (FP- 22-1-1960)). As the subject was not mentioned afterwards in the schedule for Daniel's trip, we must assume that this broadcast never took place (FP- James Craig, 23-12-1959). However, as we saw in Chapter 4, although Pericot appeared once on the BBC on the occasion of the exhibition of Porcar's paintings of Spanish rock art at St. George's Gallery in London in February 1960, this does not seem to have been connected to Daniel.

Glyn Daniel and Cambridge students

Of all Pericot's correspondents, Glyn Daniel made the largest number of references to students in his letters and was mentioned by students he did not supervise. It is interesting to note that all the students had a connection with Cambridge. The first he wrote about was John D. Evans (FP- 24-8-1951), who had been identified as one of Clark's students by Hawkes (FP- 28-12-1949). Students who wrote about him included John Scantlebury, who explained that he had been discussing with both Clark and Daniel where to stay during his one-year CSIC grant to study the impressed (cardial) ware in Spain (FP- 10-8-1960). In the latter category there are also a few of the students who were willing to participate in a summer excavation of a Palaeolithic site in Spain and had been advised by Daniel to get in touch with Pericot (FP- Jane Wheeler, 20-6-1965).

Daniel also interceded on behalf of students who had been at Cambridge, even if they were then studying elsewhere. This was the case of Antonio Gilman, who was planning to do a PhD on Neolithic Spain (FP- 22-6-1967). In the end, although he decided to work on North Africa, Gilman contacted Pericot with regard to seeing a particular collection in Barcelona (FP- Gilman, 27-11-1970). Daniel also told Pericot about Robert Chapman

and Richard Harrison (FP- 1-3-1972). Finally, Spain had a greater presence in the work of his students (Renfrew 1967; 1973b) than in that of those of any of the other scholars discussed in this chapter, with the exception of Burkitt.

Pericot and Cambridge: beyond correspondence

Prof. Luis Pericot visited Cambridge for the first time in late December 1926 and he was there for the last time many years later, in November 1970. In all those years he managed to establish many links with various key figures in Cambridge prehistoric archaeology, although none as strong as with other scholars from London and Oxford (Chapters 4 and 6). The only contact made before the war period between the 1930s and mid-1940s was with Miles Burkitt, and this resulted in Burkitt's acknowledgement in *The Old Stone Age* of the unexpected existence of the Solutrean in Eastern Spain, highlighted by Pericot's excavations in the cave of Parpalló (Burkitt 1933). After the war, Pericot expanded his exchanges with Cambridge scholars, starting with the Disney Professor of Archaeology, Dorothy Garrod. As he was doing with other European colleagues, at the end of the 1940s and throughout the 1950s, Pericot attempted to use the international summer courses of Ampurias to reinforce links with the Cambridge academics. He asked Garrod and Clark to participate in 1947, but they were unable to attend. Miles Burkitt also received an invitation, perhaps in 1949 and then definitively in 1951, when he took three Cambridge students with him. He never invited Daniel, however, probably because initially his status was not high enough, and later, from 1960, because Pericot was no longer involved in the courses.

The academic success of Pericot's contacts in Cambridge was relative. In total, he gave five lectures there, which is not bad considering he only travelled seven times to England in periods when he could be invited to give a talk. The first lecture in Cambridge was at Dorothy Garrod's request in 1946 (although, as explained, Childe was behind this request). In 1951, Burkitt organised another lecture, but it was another eighteen years before the final two. This gap seems to indicate that during the 1960s the holder of the Disney chair, Grahame Clark, may not have been interested in encouraging links with Pericot and Catalonia. This impression is reinforced by looking at the letters received by the Barcelona professor. Although they continued to arrive in steady numbers during the decade beginning in 1959, most of them are signed by Mollie Clark and not by her husband. There are several possible explanations for this

apparent disinterest in Pericot. A simple way of accounting for it would be to point out that Grahame Clark's research was focused elsewhere and that he was too busy to give much thought to Spanish archaeology. In those years his attention focused on Northern Europe, on the developments taking place in America (he was a Visiting Lecturer at Harvard in 1957) and on building an 'empire' of Cambridge graduates around the British ex-colonial world in Africa, Australia and New Zealand (he visited New Zealand in 1964 and also stopped off in Australia) (Desmond Clark 1999: 6).

The lack of interaction between Pericot and Clark in the 1960s may also have had a more local (Spanish) grounding. There are two possibilities. The first I believe to be unlikely, given the pleasant tone of the letters throughout the 1960s: that perhaps when the Clarks had holidayed close to the Pericots in the summer of 1959, something had happened that affected how the Cambridge professor felt about his colleague from Barcelona. A second, more plausible explanation of the distance between Clark and Pericot may be related to a strategy followed by Clark of concentrating his efforts on scholars with whom a relationship would lead more effectively to academic gains. Although only a small proportion of the correspondence between Almagro and Clark has been studied, from what is available it is clear that Clark maintained a very cordial relationship with Almagro, to the point that it seems that around the early to mid-1950s, and certainly in the 1960s, Clark's interest moved from Pericot to Almagro (Díaz-Andreu 2010). Almagro visited England for the first time in November 1961,when Clark suggested he give three (!) lectures (ACCHS AT1125, 23-10-1961), asking for one of them be on Levantine art. He also organised another lecture at the Institute of Archaeology in London (ACCHS AT1125, 28-10-1961). Almagro was invited to dine at Peterhouse and Clark even suggested that he (!) could drive him to Oxford if needed (ACCHS AT1125, 6-11-1961). After his trip, Almagro sent an effusive letter thanking Clark for his hospitality (ACCHS AT1125, 19-12-1961). All this makes it obvious that Clark was much more enthusiastic about Almagro than he had ever been about Pericot. It seems that during the early 1960s, Clark was invited to Spain at least twice by Almagro's group, probably in 1960 and definitely in 1963. On the latter occasion, the tone of the letter Clark wrote from Madrid (see above) may imply that he was trying not to antagonise Pericot: "We have been thinking of you since coming here to lecture to Almagro's class…" (FP- 30-3-1963)). On his 1963 visit to Spain, Clark lectured to Almagro's students on the subject of "the arch and the arrow" (ACCHS AT1120, no date). He also visited the rock art sites of

Alpera and Minateda, the sites of Almizaraque and Los Millares, the Antequera tombs and the Cave of Nerja, as well as the Alhambra in Granada (ACCHS AT1120, 7-4-1963). In addition to Almagro, Ripoll was also invited to lecture in England, perhaps through Clark, at the Prehistoric Society's Conference in London in April 1967 (FP- Daniel 22-6-1967). However, Clark was not completely disinterested, as Pericot was invited, presumably by the Disney professor, to give a talk in Cambridge in 1969. Daniel wrote on this occasion: "I am delighted that you will be here on Friday and will be at your lecture. I understand you are being given dinner by Professor Clark afterwards" (FP- Daniel 21-4-1969).

Pericot again lectured in Cambridge in 1970, on this occasion at Glyn Daniel's invitation. Despite this deference, it was not until 1973 that Pericot honoured Daniel with *turrón*, the Spanish Christmas delight he sent every year to those he esteemed most – a combination of affinity and status (Burkitt and Clark had been receiving it since 1952, although *turrón* was never mentioned in Garrod's letters). His attitude towards Daniel points to Pericot as a professor of the old guard, who only regarded as his true peers those scholars he considered equal to his standing. He seems not to have perceived the power emanating from the new mass communications media and the control being acquired by scholars like Glyn Daniel, from his position as editor of journals such as *Antiquity* and series such as Thames and Hudson's'Ancient Peoples and Places', were acquiring. If Pericot had realised this, he may have managed to publish an English translation of his *Primitive Spain** (1950), as well as of some of his other books. He did not seem to appreciate either that handing his *The Balearic Islands* (Pericot 1972) in on time, instead of taking thirteen years to write it, would have been to his own advantage. Pericot's disregard of Daniel contrasted with Daniel's own interest in Pericot. It was Daniel who paid most attention to Pericot's work by referring to it and writing reviews of the Barcelona professor's publications. He wrote two reviews in the early 1950s (Daniel 1951b; 1952), something that none of the other British archaeologists did. Pericot, however, reviewed and/or mentioned the work of others on several occasions (Pericot 1944b; 1947-48e; 1948d; 1949d; 1949e; 1951c; 1968d), but only wrote a single summary of one of Daniel's early publications in 1944, never to pay much attention to him again. Pericot's belief that status was key to the formation of international alliances made him blind to the benefits he could have obtained by taking more notice of Glyn Daniel from early on. Pericot's relationship with Cambridge was, therefore, one of misunderstandings. He focused on and tried to cultivate friendships with those who were not that interested either

in Spanish archaeology (Garrod and Clark) or in academic archaeology in general (Burkitt), but disregarded the one scholar who could have opened doors for him, Glyn Daniel.

Despite his relative lack of ability in the networks he formed in Cambridge, Pericot's presence may have had an effect on several research projects relating to Spanish archaeology undertaken there. Seven names need to be discussed in this respect: Michael Thompson, John Scantlebury, Geoff Bailey, Iain Davidson, Antonio Gilman, Richard Harrison and Robert Chapman. As seen above, he was mainly involved with the first two, Thompson and Scantlebury. The result, however, was disappointing, although this was not Pericot's fault. Michael Thompson's PhD research on the Mesolithic of the Iberian Peninsula in the early 1950s has been amply described earlier in the chapter. The lack of academic jobs at the time, however, did not allow him access to a university lectureship and his research only resulted in a single article (Thompson 1954) and had no continuity. The outcome of John Scantlebury's year in Spain studying impressed (cardial) ware in 1960-61 seems to be non-existent, although no information about the reason for this is found in the archive.

The connection between Pericot and the other five students is less evident, although not so much in the case of Geoff Bailey and Iain Davidson who, as mentioned above, had contacted Pericot after his Cambridge lecture of 1970. As the geographical focus of research of the former was beyond Greater Catalonia (i.e. the Catalan speaking areas), Pericot's interaction with him was very limited. This was not the case of Davidson, who spent the academic year of 1971-72 in Valencia, including a fieldwork season in summer 1972, to which he added another in Albacete in 1973, both with the assistance of the Cambridge lecturer, Higgs. During the years 1972 to 1974 Davidson asked Pericot to write many reference letters for jobs he was applying for, until he succeeded with the University of New England in 1974. Although an interesting issue in itself, it would take us away from Pericot if we were to look at Davidson's influence on Spanish and especially Valencian archaeology (see Aura et al. 2002; Fortea Pérez 1985). Of all the works mentioned in Higgs' letters to Pericot, the only one to be published was that of Davidson on the Valencian Country (Davidson 1976a; 1976b; 1981; 1983; 1986; 1989; Davidson et al. 1976), although other research associated with Higgs' Early Agriculture Project has been mentioned above.

In the early 1970s, in addition to Iain Davidson, three more students connected to Cambridge undertook, or planned to undertake, doctoral projects on Spanish archaeology: Antonio Gilman, Richard Harrison and Robert Chapman. Gilman and Harrison did their MAs in Cambridge, although they then moved to Harvard to be supervised by Hugh Hencken. Gilman seems to have thought of doing his research on Spain (FP- Daniel 22-6-1967) although he then focused his attention on North Morocco (FP- Hencken 27-10-1970, Gilman 1974; 1975), only to return to his abandoned interest in Spanish archaeology after his PhD (Gilman 1976, Gilman and Thornes 1985). Richard Harrison, who also did an MA in Cambridge in 1969-70, was looking for a doctoral project "in Spain in the area of Neolithic to Early Bronze Age" (FP- Hencken 4-6-1971). Harrison went to Barcelona to discuss the issue with Pericot (FP- Harrison 10-6-1971) (and also perhaps with others) and a few months later he was already working on Bell Beakers (FP- Daniel 1-3-1972). He had already thought about the topic in Cambridge; it appealed to him because, with the exception of Sangmeister, no one was looking into it (R. Harrison pers. comm. 6-1-2009) (it had been a long time since one of Bosch Gimpera's disciples, Alberto del Castillo, had written his PhD on this subject (Castillo 1928)). Finally, it is worth pointing out a certain amount of attention paid to the Iberian Peninsula by one of Daniel's students, Colin Renfrew, at the very start of his career (Renfrew 1967).

To conclude, Pericot's links with Cambridge followed, in general terms, the same pattern as those in London and, as we will see, Oxford, although there are certain differences. He established links with the scholars of the highest status and those he regarded as special perhaps because of their seniority (in the case of Cambridge with Burkitt). In Cambridge, however, he had relative luck. His attempts at connecting with the main figures there were not completely successful. On the one hand, his links with Burkitt had only limited success, given Burkitt's growing disinterest in academia and his lack of involvement with doctoral students. On the other, neither of the two Disney professors between the 1930s and the 1970s, Garrod and Clark, paid much attention to him, partly because of the emergence of someone else in Spain identified as the most powerful person in Spanish archaeology and the major figure one needed to deal with internationally, Martín Almagro. From the 1960s, Clark also encouraged his students to expand the geographical extent of their research to areas in which Britain had had some dominance in the past and where archaeology was insufficiently developed as a professional discipline. Thus, many of his students, including those who had been studying Spanish archaeology,

moved their interest to Australia, including Geoff Bailey; some, such as Iain Davidson, even got jobs there. All this led interest in European archaeology in general, and in Spanish archaeology in particular, to be relegated. This marginalisation would have consequences for the understanding of the Spanish archaeological sequence in Britain. As Cambridge was the university with the highest number of research students in Britain and they were not exposed to the developments taking place in southwest Europe, there was an increasing ignorance about the archaeology of the Iberian Peninsula. This had many practical consequences. It was from the 1970s and 1980s that Spanish archaeology began to be ignored or barely mentioned in a series of handbooks published on European prehistory (Barker 1985; Champion et al. 1984; Coles and Harding 1979; Collis 1984; Wells 1984). If any, only a handful of sites were mentioned in these publications, most or all of them in southeastern Spain and always including Los Millares and El Argar. It was on this area that the work of two of the students who were or had been associated with Cambridge, Chapman and Gilman, had focused (Chapman 1975; Gilman 1976). From the time they started to publish until the mid-1990s, they were the main source of information on Spain, together with Davidson's analysis of eastern Spain, Harrison's studies of Beakers and the work of the Spanish branch of the German Archaeological Institute and its journal *Madrider Mitteilungen*. By the 1980s, once the major figures who had dominated Spanish archaeology began to leave the scene (Pericot in 1978 and Almagro in 1984, among others), the value given to the work produced by Spanish archaeologists by their British counterparts had become negligible.

CHAPTER SIX

OXFORD

Introduction

Compared to the two previous chapters, this has the least number of correspondents, although it is the most international. The following pages delve initially into Pericot's early exchanges with E.T. Leeds and John L. Myres. The nature of these contacts marks Pericot's transition from an archaeologist interested in his own region to one with a much wider perspective. He contacted E.T. Leeds because of their shared interest in Atlantic archaeology (Britain and Galicia). In contrast to the purely regional interest on which this relationship was based, that with Myres was the beginning of Pericot's international profile. The start of Pericot's international career was however rather humbler. His relationship with Myres was largely superficial, as it was his former supervisor, the doyen of Catalan archaeology, Bosch Gimpera, who was Myres' main ally in Spain. To Myres, Pericot was just someone within Bosch Gimpera's close circle. In any case, despite the very limited contacts between Pericot and Myres, the discussion of their correspondence will take the chapter into a long diversion to explain the origins and development of international congresses, in whose reorganisation during the interwar period Myres and Bosch had played a key role. This is important because after World War II their leadership would fall to their disciples, mainly Christopher Hawkes in Oxford and Luis Pericot in Barcelona. This second period is, therefore, the focus of the third section of the chapter, in which the correspondence between Hawkes and Pericot is analysed. The other major issue in their epistolary exchange relates to another international venture, the International Summer Courses of Ampurias. Finally, some information is included about Christopher Hawkes' students and Spanish archaeology, as well as other matters dealt with in the correspondence. In addition to letters from Leeds, Myres and Hawkes, the Pericot Archive also contains two from another scholar who spent part of his professional life as museum curator in the Pitt Rivers Museum, the Africanist Bernard Fagg

(1915-1987). However, these pre-date the latter's Oxford appointment in 1963 (they relate to his attendance at the IV CISPP congress in 1954, when he still was a surveyor of antiquities in Nigeria).

The small number of Pericot's correspondents in Oxford contrasts with the number of institutions dealing with archaeology in the town. There were three major ones – the University and the Ashmolean and Pitt Rivers museums – in addition to societies and other groups interested in the subject. In this context, it may be worth mentioning those with whom Pericot never corresponded. There are no letters from, or referring to, anybody related to the Pitt Rivers Museum, including Henry Balfour (1863-1939), its first curator from 1890 until his death, and John Bradford (1918-1975), a lecturer at the Department of Ethnology and Prehistory. As regards the Ashmolean Museum, all contact was lost once Leeds retired and was replaced as director in 1945 by Karl Parker, a Fine Arts specialist, and by Donald B. Harden as curator of the Department of Antiquities. Concerning the university, there is just a mention in passing of the professor of classical art and archaeology, John Beazley (1885-1970) (FP-Hawkes 10-3-1953), although there is nothing about his successor, Prof. Sir John Boardman (1927-). There is no information either about Hawkes' friend, the archaeologist and Bodleian librarian, Nowell Myres. This lack of contact, however, is not evidence of any animosity on the part of Pericot towards Oxford (in fact, the two main scholars discussed in Chapter 4, Kendrick and Childe, had an Oxford education and were Oxford at heart). Rather, it once again highlights the selection Pericot made regarding who to include in his circle of British acquaintances.

Pericot's early contacts with archaeology in Oxford: E.T. Leeds and John L. Myres

E.T. Leeds

When Pericot arrived in England for the first time a few days before Christmas 1926, one of the first scholars he met was Edward Thurlow Leeds (1877-1955) (Fig. 6.1). Leeds was then an Assistant Keeper at the Ashmolean Museum (1908-28) (he was promoted to Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum and the Department of Antiquities in 1928 and retired in 1945). E. T. Leeds has gone down in history as one of the great scholars of Anglo-Saxon studies and as someone who undertook many fieldwork projects in the Oxford area (MacGregor 2007). However, this was not the reason for Pericot's interest in him. He wanted to see Leeds because the

Englishman had also made an incursion into the archaeology of the Iberian Peninsula. Perhaps as a means of improving the contextualisation of the prehistoric material he was excavating in Oxfordshire, in 1914 and 1921 Leeds had travelled to Spain to see some of the archaeology of Galicia, particularly megaliths. His contacts in Spain had been José Ramón Mélida, Federico Maciñeira and George Bonsor (Maier 1999a: letters 214, 233 and 235, FP- Leeds 28-12-1926).

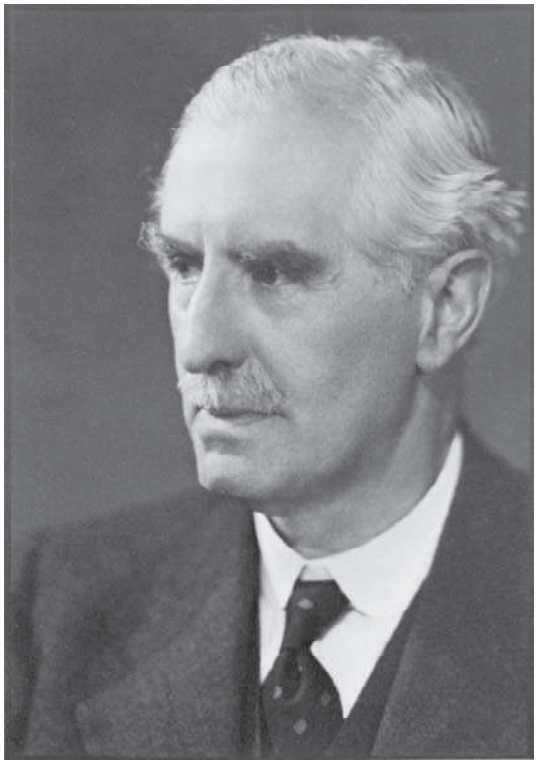

Figure 6.1. E. T. Leeds (1877-1955). Reproduced with permission of the Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.

Pericot travelled to Britain as a young professor, having recently won his chair at the University of Santiago de Compostela. In that role, he was trying to establish himself as a researcher on Galician archaeology. E.T. Leeds was the obvious scholar to contact in Oxford, given his interest in northwest Spain and his contacts with the most renowned Galician

archaeologist at the time, Federico Maciñeira. They probably met on 28 December 1926, perhaps in London, and on that date Leeds sent a letter to Pericot: "I have just returned to the Museum & hasten to fulfil my promise of sending you copies of such offprints of my papers as I still possess. I find my stock of such papers has run very low, but was glad to find that one copy of the Dolmens paper from Archaeologia still remained" (FP-28-12-1926), referring to his article of 1920. He may also have sent a copy of his 1924 article. This single missive is the only one from Leeds kept in the Pericot Archive. This may be due to Leeds' loss of interest in the Iberian Peninsula (although he occasionally continued making some comparisons between British and Galician archaeological material – see Leeds 1930). It is, however, more likely to have been due to the fact that Pericot lost interest in Galician archaeology after he left Santiago in 1927. There is also the possibility, given the deficiencies of the archive for the years before the end of the Spanish Civil War, that there were more letters that Pericot did not keep in his many changes of residence (from Santiago to Valencia and then to Barcelona).

John L. Myres

The second Oxford scholar with whom Pericot exchanged correspondence was John Linton Myres (1869-1954) (Figure 6.2). Myres had been educated at New College, Oxford. He took classes in honour moderations (1890) and *literae humaniores* (1892). His involvement with archaeology had already begun in his undergraduate years, when he had an interest in local antiquities. Later, he travelled to the Mediterranean as a fellow of Magdalen (1892-95) and Craven (1892) and undertook several study trips related to the archaeology of the Eastern Mediterranean, Crete and, particularly, Cyprus. He became a student of Christ Church (1895-1907) and then a university lecturer in classical archaeology. In 1907 he went to Liverpool as a professor of Greek and a lecturer in ancient geography (1907-10). He would return to Oxford in 1910 as the new Wykeham Professor of Ancient History, a post he held until his retirement in 1939. He was general secretary of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (1919-32) and in the 1920s he also served as the vice-president of the Society of Antiquaries (1924-29), president of the Hellenic Society (1935-38) and chairman of the British School at Athens (1934-47) (John Boardman in Oxford DNB 2004-).

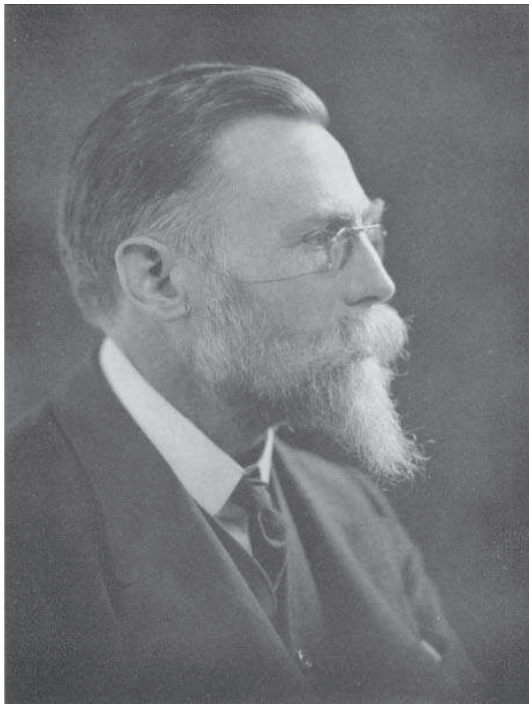

Figure 6.2. Sir John L. Myres. Source: Dunbabin (1956: 349).

Myres had many research interests. In addition to Greek archaeology, he was also interested in folklore, archaeology, geography and anthropology, a combination that was not uncommon at the time (Stocking 1987: 53-56; Stocking 1995: ch. 2, see also Olsen 2004: 119). Thus, he became honorary secretary of the Royal Anthropological Institute and later its president (1928-31). In Oxford he was active in the promotion of geography and anthropology as UG degrees. He was also involved in the anthropological journal *Man* and served as its editor for its two first years in 1901-3 and again in 1931-46. Although it has been mentioned that he had no school (John Boardman in Oxford DNB 2004-), it could be argued that his disciples included O.G.S. Crawford, who followed his advice to pursue links between geography and prehistoric archaeology (Bowden 2001: 31), Gordon Childe (Champion 2009; Díaz-Andreu 2009) and Christopher Hawkes.

Pericot's links with Myres were occasional and all related to their shared commitment to internationalism and, in particular, international congresses. There were two international conferences at which Myres and Pericot coincided: one archaeological (the CISPP) and the other anthropological (the CISAE). John Myres played a key role in the organisation of the first meetings of each of the new congresses. Both took place in London, the CISPP in 1932 and the CISAE in 1934. Like Myres, Pericot was involved in both, albeit initially in a less important role. The impression is that Bosch Gimpera had decided that while he was the main link (with Obermaier) for the CISPP in Spain, Pericot's role would be to control the CISAE. It was precisely in October 1933 that Bosch succeeded in bringing Pericot from the University of Valencia to that of Barcelona to teach ethnology (a situation that was only maintained for a year) (Pericot 1950e: 5). The letters received by Pericot regarding the earliest period of the CISAE will be described below, when the creation of this organisation is explained. It would be impossible to explain them properly at this point and to understand Pericot's role, as well as Hawkes' position in the CISPP after World War II, without looking at the background of both organisations in some detail, focusing on the men who held important positions in the 1920s and 1930s and acted as their supervisors and guides: John Myres and Pedro Bosch Gimpera. Therefore, breaking with the pattern followed in the two previous chapters, a section will now be included in which the subject under discussion is not mainly related to information obtained from the correspondence in the Pericot Archive, but to that found in other archives, all of which are in the Bodleian library in Oxford.

International congresses and Oxford

A large percentage of the letters in the Pericot Archive, as well as those in the Myres and Hawkes archives, deals in one way or another with international congresses. Among these, the majority refer to the International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences (CISPP), with perhaps the exception of those of Myres, who was also deeply involved in the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (CISAE). The letters in the Pericot Archive, the focus of this book, mainly cover the period after World War II, although there are a few that are earlier. This is the also case of Hawkes. However, for the sake of clarity, the following sections will go back in time to allow a better contextualisation of the role in international congresses of the Oxford

archaeologists, Myres and Hawkes, as well as of their Barcelona colleagues, Bosch and Pericot.

Before Oxford

International congresses: a nineteenth-century legacy

International congresses appeared on the scholarly map around the 1860s and 1870s (see Fig. 6.3), although there were precedents going back to the late seventeenth century[1]. Their objectives were the exchange of knowledge and the creation of interactive networks among scholars. They came to supplement – but not to replace – the flow of scholarly communication existing in correspondence. They seem to have been preceded by and indeed to have been an outgrowth of the national congresses, such as that organised in Canterbury in 1844 by the British Archaeological Association for the Encouragement and Prosecution of Researches into the Arts and Monuments of the Early and Middle Ages (from which the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland would later develop) (Marsden 1983: ch. 5; Wetherall 1994). By the end of the nineteenth century, the number of congresses had increased steadily and by the first decade of the twentieth century an average of 142.8 were organised each year. World War I meant an obvious break and no international congresses were convened between 1915 and 1918 (Union of International Associations 1960).

[1] The first ever congress included in the listing of the Union of International Associations is one on medicine held in 1681. Much later, in 1815, another on physics and the natural sciences was held in Genoa. Interestingly, the third known international congress was the Celtic Congress of 1838 in Abergavenny and the fourth, convened in Gothenburg in 1839, was the first of many meetings of Scandinavian naturalists. Despite these early examples, international congresses were basically a creation of the middle years of the nineteenth century (Figure 1). To begin with, they were not regular and were rarely backed by an association, instead being organised on personal initiatives. The number of congresses increased steadily over time. From the 1850s to the 1890s the total number in each decade was 25, 95, 233, 384 and 644 respectively. The first decade of the twentieth century saw a continuation of the trend, with 1428 organised, although numbers were obviously affected in the following decade, as no international congresses were held from 1915 to 1918 (Union of International Associations 1960). International congresses were aimed at the exchange of knowledge and the creation of interactive networks among scholars.

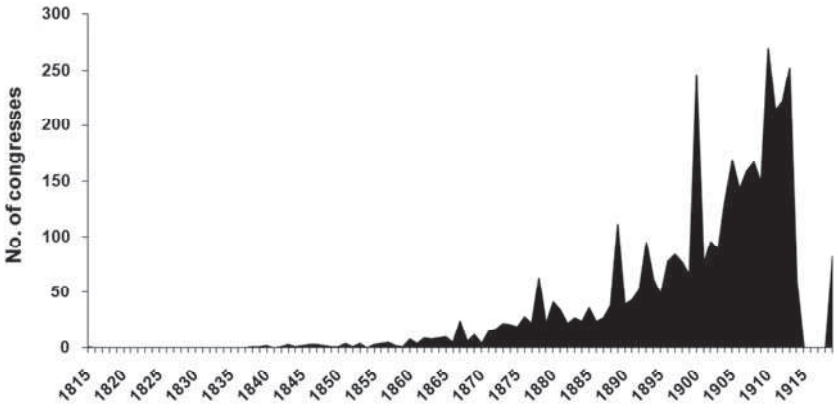

Figure 6.3. Number of international congresses per year in all fields until the end of World War I.

Before World War I there were at least five international congresses organised in nineteenth-century Europe that were the most appropriate for archaeologists to attend[2]. One of them was the International Congress of Prehistoric Anthropology and Archaeology (Congrès International d'anthropologie et d'archéologie préhistorique, CIAAP), which served as a meeting point for scholars from northern and western Europe. In parallel to the CIAAP there were, on the one hand, the congresses organised by the German and Viennese anthropological societies and, on the other, the Slavic congresses. Finally, European archaeologists working in Asia and America met at the International Congress of Orientalists (first meeting in London in 1873) and the International Congress of Americanists (Nancy, France, 1875). To those one could add other international congresses in which archaeology played a role: Ethnographical Sciences (1878), Anthropological Sciences (1878), Numismatics (1878), Christian Archaeology (1897), the International Congress of Archaeology (1901) and the International Congress of Far Eastern Studies – the first to be organised outside Europe, in Hanoi (in the French colony of Indochina, now Vietnam). Some of these international congresses are still being held today. Others, like the CIAAP, died and were resuscitated in a different

[2] Of course, there were many other related international congresses that archaeologists may have also attended, among them the International Congress of Anthropological Sciences.

guise – in the case of the CIAAP, its spirit was revived, as explained below, in the CISPP.

Before Oxford's involvement: the CIAAP

The most important conference for prehistoric archaeologists and anthropologists up to World War I was the International Congress of Prehistoric Anthropology and Archaeology (CIAAP - Congrès International d'anthropologie et d'archéologie préhistorique) (Richard 1992) (Fig. 6.4). It had emerged from a meeting organised by the Italian Society of Natural Sciences in La Spezia in 1865. Only retrospectively did this become the first International Congress of Prehistoric Anthropology and Archaeology. On the inventory of all the international congresses from 1681 to 1919 it is listed as the 94th international congress ever held and it acted as an association with meetings held at irregular intervals every few years. Its ups and downs depended a great deal on who was leading it at the time. The first, very active period up to 1880 was probably linked to the efforts of the French-speaking Swiss geologist and archaeologist, Edouard Desor (1811-1882) (Kaeser 2004). After Desor's death, the congress met less regularly, but it was kept going by the French archaeologist, Gabriel de Mortillet (1821-1898), and, after his death, by his compatriot Joseph Déchelette (1862-1914). The CIAAP was one of the most active congresses in the 1860s and 1870s[3] (Union of International Associations 1960: 7-15).

The CIAAP was French at heart; some writers have persuasively argued that these congresses merely represented anthropology and prehistory as viewed by French scholars, who managed to institute French as the official language in the discussions and proceedings, in the face of particularly strong competition from German (Mueller-Scheessel 2001, Richard in Murray 1999: 93-107; Wiell 1999: 141-2). Paris hosted three of the fourteen meetings (see Figure 6.2) and Frenchmen were appointed to the most important positions within the organisation (Richard in Murray 1999: 93-107). However, British archaeologists also participated in the congress, with some of the most active scholars being Lyell, Prestwich and Tylor. The CIAAP even met once in England, in 1868 in Norwich and London.

[3] Other early international congresses listed are the International Congresses of Archaeology (1867 and 1868), Numismatics (1878, 1891, 1900 and 1910), Orientalists (held every two years since 1873) and Americanists (held almost every two years since 1875).

No.	DATE		PLACE OF MEETING	NOTES
I	21 Sept	1865	La Spezia	
II	? August	1866	Neuchâtel	
III	17-30 Aug	1867	Paris	
IV	20-28 Aug	1868	Norwich and London	
V	27 Aug-5 Sept	1869	Copenhagen	
VI	30 Sept-8 Oct	1871	Bologna	
VII	22-30 Aug	1872	Brussels	
VIII	7-16 Aug	1874	Stockholm	
IX	3-11 Sept	1876	Budapest	
X	20-29 Sept	1880	Lisbon	
XI	19-28 Aug	1889	Paris	
XII	13-20 Aug	1892	Moscow	
XIII	20-25 Aug	1900	Paris	Number XII in UIA
XIV	15-24 April	1906	Monaco	No. XV in UIA
XV	9-15 Sept	1912	Geneva	No. XIV in UIA
-	no meeting in	1916	Madrid	It did not take place because of WWI
XV		1930	Coimbra	Also the IV IIA. Poor attendance

Figure 6.4. CIAAP International Congresses.

Oxford and internationalism

The crisis of archaeological internationalism and Oxford's role in the creation of the CISPP

World War I brought a sudden break in the situation. Joseph Déchelette was then a middle-aged man of 52. He would have been active in academia for another twenty years had he not died in battle at the start of the war, leaving the CIAAP without a leader. This facilitated the merging of the CIAAP into the French-led Institut international d'anthropologie (IIA), which continued organising regular meetings (Fig. 6.5). This incorporation, however, did not have favourable consequences for prehistoric archaeology: among anthropologists, prehistoric archaeology was downgraded to a secondary role. Prehistorians were also unhappy about the decision by the leadership of the IIA to exclude scholars from the Central Powers – the countries that had lost the Great War, Germany and Austro-Hungary (Laet 1970: 1425-27). Similar decisions had been taken by other French institutions. For example, after Déchelette's death, it was unanimously decided to expel all members of German or Austro-Hungarian nationality from the Société Préhistorique de France (Olivier in

Murray 1999: 281). Tension grew within the IIA in 1927 when the Dutch organisers of the congress decided to invite German archaeologists without consulting the Executive Committee, resulting in the attendance at the Amsterdam congress of the ethnologist Richard Thurnwaldt and the archaeologist Gerhard Bersu. The situation created by the IIA against German-speakers led to opposition and ultimately to a rupture and a major split within the organisation.

No.	DATE		PLACE OF MEETING	NOTES
I		1921	Liège	(Breton and Burkitt 1921)
II		1924	Prague	
III	20-29 Sept	1927	Amsterdam	
IV		1930	Coimbra (Portugal)	It was also the XV CIAAP. Poor attendance
V		1935	Brussels	
VI		1937	Bucharest	
-		1939	Istanbul	Not held because of WWII

Figure 6.5. Meetings of the Institut international d'anthropologie.

Discontent reigned on two fronts. On the one hand there was a group of friends, all archaeologists then in their late thirties or early forties, who had been in academic positions for about a decade. These were Pere Bosch Gimpera and Hugo Obermaier[4] from Spain, Raymond Lantier from France and Gerhard Bersu and Wilhelm Unverzagt from Germany (Bosch Gimpera 1980: 139). They met regularly at different congresses and discussed what could be done about the IIA (Fig. 6.6). The IV International Congress of [Classical] Archaeology held in Barcelona in 1929 and organised by Bosch Gimpera was a key moment in this process. On the other hand, there was John Myres, then president of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland; he was also unhappy about the situation, but being twenty years their senior, he was not initially a member of the above mentioned group. The fusion of interests between both sides took place in the early 1930s. In April 1931 Myres announced in *Man* that a group headed by the Barcelona professor Bosch Gimpera had decided to create an alternative to the congresses

[4] Comas (1956: 54) includes Hugo Obermaier in this group, although in his memoirs Bosch Gimpera is less clear about Obermaier's inclusion among the main plotters. Perhaps in this, as in other aspects, Bosch Gimpera's memoirs are not as exact as one would expect.

organised by the IIA (Myres 1931a). At a meeting in Bern in May 1931, at which Myres and Childe represented Britain and Bosch Gimpera and Obermaier Spain, the CISPP was created and its new regulations approved (Comas 1956: 87-89). Bosch Gimpera would identify himself a few years later as the chairman of the Bern meeting (BOD-SPSL, 250/2, Doc. 44). There, Myres successfully proposed London as the venue for the first meeting to be held in 1932 (Comas 1956: 56; Myres 1931b: 137; Vaufrey 1931).

The CISPP met for the first time in London in 1932. John Myres proposed Charles Peers, the president of the Society of Antiquaries, as the first CISPP president, although kept the role of vice-chairman for himself[5] . For its organisation, in addition to some of the members of the Society of Antiquaries (Hugh Sadler Kingsford), Myres called on his former students to be national secretaries, including not only Gordon Childe, but also Christopher Hawkes and Arthur Ralegh Radford (Laet 1970: 1427-8). Juan Comas lists six vice-presidents at the meeting: W. Antoniewicz, T.J. Arne, G. Bersu, H. Breuil, H. Obermaier and U. Rellini. More than six hundred people registered and a series of articles describing what had taken place was published in *Man* 32 (September 1932). After an introduction by Myres, Charles Peers published his address on "The Beginnings of Prehistoric Studies in Britain". Summaries of the discourses by Cyril Fox "The Personality of Britain: Its Influence on Inhabitants and Invaders"; E. T. Leeds' "Celtic Art in Britain"; and T. D. Kendrick "The Crafts in Ancient Britain" (Kendrick 1932) were also published in the same issue. The congress had five sections: I. Human Palaeontology; II. Palaeolithic and Mesolithic; III. Ages of Polished Stone, Bronze, and Iron in the Ancient World (subdivided into A: Western and Northern Europe; B: The Ancient East, including the Mediterranean; and C: Central and Mediterranean Europe); IV. The Neolithic, Bronze, and Early Iron Ages Outside the Ancient World; and V. The Transition from Prehistory to History. *A Handbook of the Prehistoric Archaeology of Britain* (Burkitt et al. 1932) was also written for the occasion. The proceedings were published two years later by Oxford University Press.

[5] Comas (1956: 57) also mentions A. W. Brøgger for this position, and this may be related to the handover of positions from Britain, as organisers of the I CISPP, to Norway, which took charge of the II CISPP in Oslo in 1936.

Names	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Lantier, Raymond (France)					**xx**	**x**		**xx**	**x**	**x**
Bersu, Gerhard (Germany)	**xx**				**xx**			**xx**	**x**	**x**
Unverzagt, Wilhelm (Germany)			**x**		**xx**		**xx**	**xx**	**x**	**x**
Pellati, Francesco (Italy)				x		x	x			
Bosch Gimpera, Pere (Spain)	**xx**	**x**	**x**	**x**	**xx**	**x**	**x**	**xx**	**x**	**x**
Obermaier, Hugo (Spain)					xx	x	xx			x
Myres, John (Britain)	**m**							**m**	**x**	**x**

Figure 6.6. International meetings where the creation of the CISPP was discussed. 1. Amsterdam 1927 - IIA Congress; 2. Frankfurt 1927 - twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the Römisch-Germanische Kommission; 3. Florence 1928 - Meeting on Etruscan Archaeology; 4. Rhodes 1928; 5. Berlin 1929 - inauguration of museums in Berlin; 6. Barcelona 1929 - IV International Congress of Archaeology (prehistoric and classical archaeology); 7. Algiers 1930 - V International Congress; 8. Berlin 1930 - Discussions among four of the "Five" at the centenary of the German Archaeological Institute; 9. Paris 1931 - meeting of "the Five" to discuss the organisation of the CISPP; 10. Bern 1931 - meeting to discuss the organisation of the CISPP at which important prehistorians were invited to attend. Only archaeologists who attended three or more meetings have been included. Archaeologists marked with a double cross indicate those especially involved in conversations regarding the need to create a separate Prehistory Congress. Bold indicates membership of "the Five". Source: Bosch Gimpera (1980: passim).

During the conference, Childe, together with Hawkes, Myres and Peers, became members of the Permanent Council, representing Britain (Anonymous 1935). Bosch Gimpera and Obermaier represented Spain (Bosch Gimpera 1980: 140).

Internationalism under attack

Unfortunately, despite the good auguries with which the CISPP had started, it would soon face serious problems. Archaeologists, like everybody else in Europe at the time, were well aware of the consequences of the success of the Nazi party in the German elections of 1933 and the first measures taken by new German government. Those archaeologists in Germany who did not agree with the situation had to learn to live with it for the sake of their personal safety and that of their families. This, in fact, was the attitude of most European archaeologists. Only a minority spoke out against the state of affairs. Among them perhaps the most forceful was Childe (Díaz-Andreu 2009: 97-100). After his visit to Central Europe in

spring 1933 (Green 1981:85), where he may have experienced the 3 March democratic elections won by Hitler – or perhaps their immediate aftermath – he published several articles attacking Nazism and alerting scholars to its consequences for the study of prehistoric archaeology (Childe 1933; 1934b).

Bersu became the focus of tension during the second congress in Oslo. Already in 1933 he had realized that as the son of a Jew (who had converted to Christianity before his son's birth), his situation was precarious. He narrowly escaped losing his job with the promulgation of the discriminating 'law for the restitution of Civil Servant matters' in 1933. He could not be saved in 1935, however, when he was removed from his post as director of the RGK, although he was then made Excavation Supervisor with direct affiliation to the Head of the German Archaeological Institute in Berlin. Another decree in September 1935 made his retirement compulsory, this finally taking place in November 1936 (Maischberger 2002: 212). By then, he had been replaced in his position in the CISPP by Hans Reinerth at the II CISPP held in Oslo in August, a process that only Childe openly opposed (Díaz-Andreu 2009: 98-99). Bersu moved to England and in 1938 the Prehistoric Society paid him to excavate at Woodbury (Bradley 1997: 68-71; Evans 1989). In the summer of 1939, he was a guest of the British Association in Dundee (Maischberger 2002: 212). In a letter to Myres, Childe wrote "I still have Bersu & Frau more or less on my hands sharing the cost with Crawford" (BOD-Myres, Box 8, Doc. 69, 24-3-1940), but it is unclear for how long this financial support continued, as the letters do not mention it further.

Myres and Bosch Gimpera's exile in Oxford

In his letter of 24 March 1940, Childe mentioned to Myres that, as he was assisting Bersu financially, he could not offer anything for another archaeologist in danger, the Catalan professor, Bosch Gimpera (BOD-Myres, Box 8, Doc. 69, 24-3-1940). Bosch had left Spain in February 1939 (Barcelona had been taken by Franco on 26 January and the Civil War ended in April) (Gracia in Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009a: 146). After a brief stay in a concentration camp in France, he managed to move to Oxford, where he spent fifteen months from 6 April 1939 to mid-July 1940 (Vilanova i Vila-Abadal 1998). To support himself he obtained grants from the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning (SPSL) and Magdalen College. The first letter recommending him for a SPSL grant (in addition to those of the philologist Tomás Navarro Tomás and the

poet Dámaso Alonso), had been written by Margaret Munro, the daughter of Lincoln College's rector, J. A. R. Munro (BOD-SPSL, 250/2, Doc. 51, 3-2-1939). It is unclear why Margaret Munro may have been interested in him, but perhaps John Myres was behind this request. On 15 March it was Myres himself who wrote to Sir Frederic Kenyon, the secretary of the British Academy and, more importantly, the chairman of the Executive Committee of the SPSL (BOD-SPSL, 250/2, Doc. 99, 11-6-1940). Three days later, Bosch commented in a letter to Carles Pi i Sunyer, a Catalan politician also in exile in Britain, that Kenyon wanted to invite him to his Club, which seemed to him to be proof of interest (Vilanova i Vila-Abadal 1998: 14). On 20 March, Kenyon forwarded the letter to the SPSL's secretary supporting Bosch's case. In his letter, Myres said that Bosch had money for four weeks. He also explained some of Bosch's circumstances: he had left his family in Perpignan and had lost all his belongings in Spain. He had with him his archaeological papers and was planning to finish the publication of his Rhind lectures that had been given in Edinburgh in 1936 (Myres wrote 1937, but this was a mistake) and the Oxford University Press had agreed to publish them. Bosch was also planning to write an archaeological survey of Spain for the CISPP. Myres explained that Bosch could do this in Oxford, "but the Ashmolean has no research funds; New College cannot do anything (we had a big deficit this year); I have introduced Bosch Gimpera to the Warden of All Souls, and have sent a statement of his case to the V.C. who tells me that Magdalene has created a special fund for such cases, and will consider Bosch Gimpera's case" (BOD-SPSL, 250/2, Doc. 54, 15-3-1939). Myres also mentioned that "now he is quite out of politics" which, as the correspondence sent by Bosch to other Catalans in exile demonstrates, was far from true (Vilanova i Vila-Abadal 1998). In any case, after the SPSL contacted Myres, he replied explaining that Magdalen college had given him a grant of £50 to cover his immediate expenses and that Myres had promised Bosch that if he moved to Oxford, accommodation for a month would be provided (BOD-SPSL, 250/2, Doc. 57, 22-3-1939).

Bosch's case was finally discussed at the SPSL's Executive Committee meeting on 29 June 1939, where the decision was made to award him a grant for six months at the rate of £250 per annum (BOD-SPSL, 250/2, Doc. 66, 30-6-1939). For some reason, Tom Kendrick was also contacted and asked to find out when Bosch Gimpera would like to start his grant (BOD-SPSL, 250/2, Doc. 67, 30-6-1939). Bosch was then in London, living in the Blackheath area. He contacted the Society and thanked them for the grant (BOD-SPSL, 250/2, Doc. 69, 11-7-1939). A few days later he

mentioned that he wanted his grant to start in August (BOD-SPSL, 250/2, Doc. 92, 16-7-1939). As it was coming to an end, several reports were requested on Bosch's activities for a meeting to be held on 1 December to discuss its renewal. In his letter of support, Myres wrote that Bosch had been working as planned on the Rhind lectures and that it was important for the grant to be continued to allow him to finish his book. He also said that Bosch had been lecturing once a week on Spanish ethnology for the curators of the Taylor Institution in Oxford and that he had given a lecture at the British Academy (BOD-SPSL, 250/2, Doc. 75, 25-11-1939). Bosch's letter contained more details. He stated that he had been lecturing students from the Spanish department in Oxford about the "Formation of the Spanish peoples". Regarding conferences, he had attended a meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science at which he had talked about Bell Beakers, and his paper was due to be published in *Man* (Bosch Gimpera 1940b). He had also been to a meeting of the British Speleological Association, where he had talked about "Cave Culture in Spain" at the invitation of the Oxford anthropologist Robert R. Marrett. He also mentioned the talk at the British Academy, dating it to 6 November, and explaining that it was for the Rhind lectures that he was writing up at the time (Bosch Gimpera 1940a). In addition, he explained about his book on the relations of the Western European cultures during the late Stone Age and the Copper Age, indicating that it was quite advanced and probably referring to his book of 1944 (BOD-SPSL, 250/2, Doc. 76, 27-11-1939). Given the economic uncertainty brought about by the start of World War II, in the end it was decided that the SPSL would end its grant and instead Magdalene College would provide him with £100 for six months starting on 1 February 1940 (BOD-SPSL, 250/2, Doc. 83, 7-12-1939). He was also offered a further £40 to give lectures at the University of Oxford (BOD-SPSL, 250/2, Doc. 85, 20-12-1939).

On 2 June Bosch wrote to the Society to say that he had finished his lectures and that, as it seemed unlikely that work could be found for him in Britain, he had accepted an invitation to go to Colombia. However, he did not have enough funds to buy the tickets for the trip and wondered whether the SPSL could help him with this (BOD-SPSL, 250/2, Doc. 88, 2-6-1940). He was told that the society could offer loans but not grants for this, and that it would be difficult to provide him with the whole sum. Once again Magdalen College, in the person of Colin G. Hardie, a tutor in classics, came to Bosch's rescue. As Hardie explained to the SPSL, Magdalen had decided to give Bosch a grant of £50 immediately "if you can give us at once, that is, in anticipation of the meeting of your

allocation committee, a reasonable assurance that the committee will make him a loan of £50. Mrs Henderson of Somerville College is, I understand, willing to advance Prof. Bosch-Gimpera the £50 now if she can be assured that your committee will probably repay her later" (BOD-SPSL, 250/2, Doc. 94, 10-6-1940). He explained that the matter was urgent to ensure passage on the July boat and finished his letter saying that "we hope that our offer of an extra £50 will be acceptable to you" (ibidem). Kendrick also wrote in Bosch's support (BOD-SPSL, 250/2, Doc. 95, 10-6-1940). The SPSL agreed to this a few days later (BOD-SPSL, 250/2, Doc. 96, 15-6-1940). Bosch reserved the tickets and, having found out that they were more expensive than at first thought, asked for a further advance of £30, which he was given (BOD-SPSL, 250/2, Docs 101 and 101, 20-6-1940 and 24-6-1940). After some enquiries by the SPSL, Bosch would write five years later explaining that he had moved from Colombia to Mexico in 1941 and was now lecturing at the ENAH (National School for Anthropology and History) in Mexico City. He thanked the society for all its help (BOD-SPSL, 250/2, Doc. 112, 25-6-1945).

Myres and the first attempt to resuscitate the CISPP

World War II affected the running of the CISPP, not only because of the death of some of the archaeologists (for example, the Hungarian Ferenc Tompa was killed by a bomb) and the displacement of others, including, as explained, some of its key players such as Bersu and Bosch Gimpera, but also because of other practical issues. Among the latter, two can be highlighted. Firstly, the proofs of the proceedings of the Oslo congress of 1936 were destroyed in a bombardment and with them any hope of their publication (Comas 1956: 20). Secondly, the proposed fourth meeting in Budapest in 1940 had to be cancelled for obvious reasons. In the early 1940s, almost all except Myres had virtually given up the idea of arranging an international meeting of experts.

Myres' initiative to revive the CISPP is dated, surprisingly, before the end of World War II. On 12 Sept 1944 he contacted Childe announcing that he wanted to discuss with him the prospects of the International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences. With regard to the CISAE, he was "beginning to restore contacts with colleagues in that Congress with a view to a session as early as the political situation allows for it seems to me that this is a way in which we can help to restore normal relations". He

asked whether similar steps were being taken in the CISPP[6]. Myres finished his letter by stating "Someone must do this, or nothing will be done" (BOD-Myres, Box 65, Doc. 26, 12-9-1944). Childe's answer was realistic: it was far too early to think about reorganising international congresses. The idea, therefore, was dropped, only to be taken up again after the end of the war, in January 1946. Childe wrote to Myres about this and the latter explained that he had organised a meeting of the Permanent Council (CP in its French initials) of the CISAE in Oxford in April. Childe then proposed to the general secretary of the CISPP, Johannes Bøe, that he organise the Permanent Council of the CISPP in Edinburgh. However, the Norwegian archaeologist, who had suffered much during the war, halted such an initiative. Under the regulations, the invitation for the CP to meet was in Bøe's hands and therefore Childe was unable to take any further action.

The CP finally met in Copenhagen in June 1948 (Laet 1970: 1430) and it was decided to hold the next CISPP meeting in Prague the following year. However, not everything would run smoothly. The start of the Cold War would create its own major problems for internationalism. In January 1949, Childe was already pessimistic about the prospects, as the invitations had not been sent out by Banner and Parducs (i.e. Párducz) (FP- 8-1-1949). Pericot wrote immediately to offer Spain as a possible meeting place, but Childe did not think this appropriate because of the political scenario: "Since I wrote to you last I have heard both from Banner himself and then later from Bøe that the Congress in Buda Pest will not take place. Banner and Parducs have in fact sent their resignations as officers of the Congress to Bøe. He, as you know, is in poor health and feels that he can no longer carry the whole Congress on his sole shoulders. So he has written to the Swiss Emil Vogt to see if he can arrange a session in Switzerland in 1950. In replying to Bøe I told him of the offer in our letter of Jan.23, but I feel myself that Switzerland would be a much better venue. It is still a safe neutral country. A meeting in Spain would finalize the break with the other half (really nearly two thirds) of Europe which is perhaps not yet fatal" (FP- 5-2-1949). In fact, there would be an international gathering of archaeologists in 1949. In early July, many of the most important archaeologists of the time met at the centenary

[6] Since World War II the International Congresses of Ethnographic and Anthropological Sciences have been held as follows: III CISAE in Brussels (1948); IV CISAE in Vienna (1952); V CISAE in Philadelphia (1956); VI CISAE in Paris (1960); VII CISAE in Moscow (1964), etc.

celebrations of the Society of Antiquities of Ireland. This included Ernst Sprockhoff (Germany), Emil Vogt (Switzerland), Carl-Johan Becker (Denmark) and Johannes Bøe (Norway), as well as Gerhard Bersu, who was then Professor of Archaeology at the Royal Irish Academy (Eogan 2002: 475). The III CISPP would indeed meet in Zurich in 1950, but by then John L. Myres, who was now in his eighties, had taken a back seat, and Childe's active role was also about to come to an end. Other protagonists came to the fore and these included Christopher Hawkes and Luis Pericot. More information can be found below about this next phase of the congress.

Oxford and the anthropologists' alternative: the creation of the CISAE

The split with the IIA that had led to the creation of the CISPP in 1931 was so irreparable that not only the prehistorians abandoned the congress organised by the Institute, but also many anthropologists, seemingly led by the French scholar Raymond Vaufrey and also by Myres himself (Myres 1930; Vaufrey 1931). Years later, Bosch Gimpera explained that the idea of the CISAE had emerged in London during the I CISPP and was developed at a meeting in Basel in April 1933. Pericot, together with José Miguel de Barandiarán, Francisco de las Barras de Aragón, Santiago Alcobé and José Pérez de Barradas, represented Spain. Their presence, however, is not mentioned in an anonymous note published in 1933 in *Man* that only included Obermaier among those who were interested but unable to attend (Anonymous 1933). However, it seems that Pericot was Myres' *de facto* contact in Spain. In November, the association sent him some fifty circulars – half of them in Spanish and the other half in English – about the first congress to be held in London in July 1934 and he was asked to distribute them among experts (FP- CISAE, 15-11-1933). Pericot was also asked his opinion about the suitability as secretaries, presumably of the Spanish delegation, of José Pérez de Barradas, José Miguel de Barandiarán and Santiago Alcobé (FP- CISAE 16-12-1933). Also, at Myres' request, he sent information about the CISAE to the organiser of the 26th International Congress of Americanists in Seville, Antonio Ballesteros Beretta. He explained to Pericot that he wanted to advertise the CISAE meeting among the American delegates heading to the Seville congress, so that they could attend both (Myres thought the Seville congress was going to be held in 1934, but in the end it took place in 1935). He had written to Ballesteros, but complained that his letter had never been answered (FP- CISAE 10-3-1934).

The first International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (CISAE) took place in London in July 1934. Pericot attended the meeting, although, again, his name is not included in another note that only mentioned Santiago Alcobé and Luis de Hoyos Sáinz as the members of the Spanish delegation (Anonymous 1934). Despite this, during the meeting Pericot was chosen to become a member of its Permanent Council (FP- CISAE 21-11-1936). Despite his lack of official connections with anthropology after 1934, Pericot would continue his links with the CISAE, attending meetings in the following years, although not on a regular basis. He obviously could not attend the second meeting in Copenhagen in 1938, as it took place during the Spanish Civil War, but he went to many others once they had resumed after World War II.

The CISAE never became a central focus of Pericot's correspondence with his major British correspondents, although the Pericot Archive does contain some information about his involvement after World War II. It is, however, confusing that Childe commented on a meeting of the CISAE Permanent Council organised in Oxford by Myres on 12-14 April as if it had nothing to do with Pericot (FP- Childe 20-1-1946), when he was in fact one of its members and travelled to England in April with a grant from the CSIC (FP- Albareda, 29-11-1945; 7-12-1945). It seems likely, therefore, that he attended the meeting in Oxford and then stayed on to give lectures in Edinburgh the following week (see Chapter 4) and in Cambridge on 26 April (see Chapter 5). In fact, Pericot went to the third meeting of the CISAE held at the Musée du Congo Belge in Tervuren, Belgium in August 1948, where he was interviewed by Belgian National Radio (FP- CISAE, ?-8-1948). He was accompanied by the Americanist, Manuel Ballesteros, and the anthropologist, Julio Caro Baroja. In his note about the conference, Pericot explained that during the meeting it had been decided that the Spanish contingent would be made up of himself, Santiago Alcobé, José Pérez de Barradas, Francisco de las Barras de Aragón, José Miguel de Barandiarán and Julio Caro Baroja (Pericot 1947-48b). He also explained that the CISAE had a prehistory section, appearing to indicate that the association was trying to do what the IIA had done in the interwar years –to integrate prehistoric archaeology. The inclusion of prehistory, therefore, makes it understandable that some of those attending were also involved in the CISPP: Gordon Childe and Christopher Hawkes from Britain and Soleiman Huzzayyin from Egypt. The connection between anthropology and prehistoric archaeology in the CISAE would bring many problems when the congress of prehistorians,

the CISPP, applied for admission to one of the Councils of UNESCO, the CIPSH.

In the following years, Pericot continued his involvement with the CISAE. Although he did not attend the fourth meeting in Vienna (1952), he went to the fifth in Philadelphia in September 1956 (Pericot 1956b), where he made many new contacts. He also went to the eighth meeting in Tokyo in 1971, which was also attended by Grahame Clark (see Chapter 5), and the ninth in Chicago in 1973. Letters sent by some of the people he met on these occasions may however have gone unanswered, as there appears to be no continuity. The exception, of course, were those sent by archaeologists, mainly Americans, who also attended the meetings. However, a discussion of this would take us to another field inappropriate for the subject of this book.

Christopher Hawkes

The longest and most lasting relationship Pericot formed with a member of the Oxford community was with Christopher Hawkes (Fig. 6.7). In fact, they established contact while Hawkes was still living in London. Charles Francis Christopher Hawkes (1905-1992) had been trained as a classical scholar at Oxford University (1924-1928), but had moved to London in September 1928 as an Assistant Keeper at the British Museum. They must have met at this time, on Pericot's second visit to London during Christmas 1931 and early January 1932. They would later meet both in London and Oxford, where Hawkes became the first Professor of European Archaeology at Oxford in 1946. While there he succeeded in creating the Institute of Archaeology in 1961. He retired from his post in 1972. Internationally, from 1948 Hawkes played a major role as a member of the Permanent Council of the International Congress of Pre- and Protohistoric Sciences, and soon after as a member of the Executive Committee, a post he held until 1971. In British archaeology he was president of the Prehistoric Society (1950-54) and the Council for British Archaeology (1961-63). His main field of study was Iron Age Britain, about which he published extensively (Champion in Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009b; Harding 1992; Hawkes 1982a; Oxford DNB 2004-; Webster 1991).

Although the earliest letter between Hawkes and Pericot in the Library of Catalonia is dated to June 1940, others may have been lost. The fact that he wrote to Hawkes in March 1940 letting him know that he had survived

the Civil War (a document now kept in the BM) suggests this. Those in the Pericot Archive amount to forty-four missives from Hawkes. After two short notes from 1940 there is a gap of seven years until 1947. Most of the correspondence is dated in the following ten years, with a few epistolary exchanges in the late sixties, the latter usually written at Christmas or in January thanking Pericot for the *turrón*. A letter written by Nicolas Hawkes in 1950 and another from Jacquetta Hawkes, probably from 1952, have been included with those written by Christopher Hawkes (the second of these was in fact written on his behalf). Other short notes and a telegram written by Jacquetta using her new surname of Priestley in the early 1960s are not included. Christopher Hawkes was also mentioned in twenty-eight documents written by others (Fig 6.8). The correspondents who most frequently mentioned him were Margaret Smith/Brown (7), Gordon Childe (5) and Tom Kendrick (5). There are four known letters from Pericot to Hawkes, one in the British Museum and two others plus a postcard signed with others in the Bodleian Library.

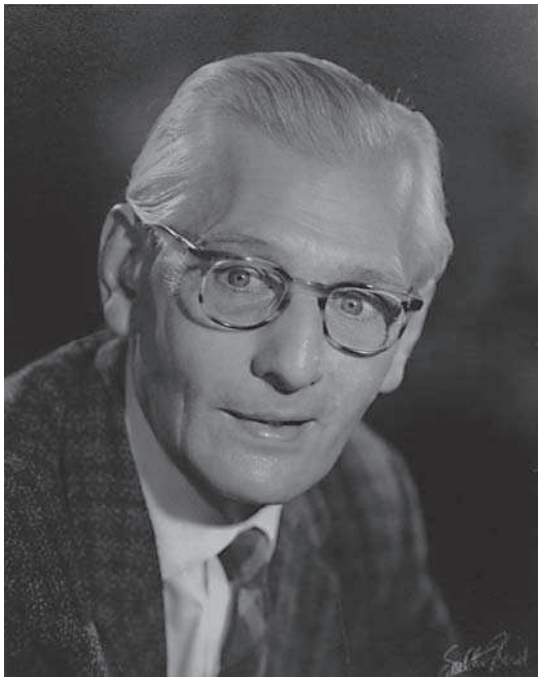

Figure 6.7. Christopher Hawkes. Source: Institute of Archaeology. Oxford.

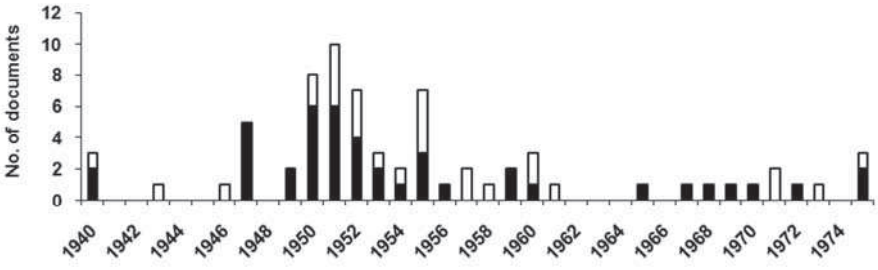

Figure 6.8. Letters in the Pericot Archive from Christopher Hawkes (black) and other letters in which Hawkes is mentioned (white).

Before the Civil War it is likely that Hawkes met Pericot through their common friend Tom Kendrick on one of Pericot's earlier trips to Britain, probably, as mentioned above, the one made during Christmas 1931-early January 1932. In the earliest known letter, Pericot expressed his hope that Hawkes and his family were well. He referred to the fact that Childe had mentioned an article by his wife Jacquetta on "Spanish pottery and the Narbonne finds" (perhaps (Hawkes 1938). He expressed his interest in reading it and promised to send his own publications in return. He also sent his regards to Tom Kendrick. Hawkes answered this letter on 17 June: "I write to let you know that Mr Kendrick and I received your letters and are glad to know that you are well. With regard to Exchange (sic) of publications, will you write to me again when the General Situation (sic) is more clear?" (FP- Hawkes 17-6-1940). As in the case of other scholars mentioned earlier in this volume, the issue of swapping publications would re-emerge several times throughout the years (for example (FP- 10-5-1947; 11-12-1950; 10-3-1953; (FP- Smith 12-11-1953 and 13-2-1954).

In a second letter dated 29 July 1940, Hawkes told his Catalan colleague that his family would be delighted to see him, indicating that Pericot may have wished at some point to travel to Britain that summer. However, this trip did not take place in view of the fact that, firstly, it would have been the middle of the Battle of Britain in August 1940, and secondly, no other trace of it has been found in the correspondence in the Pericot Archive.

Hawkes and Spanish archaeology

Hawkes was first and foremost a specialist in British archaeology, although probably after his involvement in the I CISPP he began to write a more general book on European prehistory that was published in 1940: *The Prehistoric Foundations of Europe to the Mycenaean Age*. This book

must have been a key factor in his appointment to the newly-created chair of European archaeology at Oxford in 1946. Soon after his Oxford appointment he was invited to participate in an international course in Ampurias (Spain) in 1947, an event he remembered all his life, as well as his return to it in 1950. As explained below, he considered these two occasions, together with his involvement in a congress in Florence (Congresso Internazionale di Preistoria e Protoistoria Mediterranea) in 1950, as hallmarks of his career.

Hawkes does not seem to have been particularly bothered about cooperating with scholars involved in right-wing regimes (Pericot) or with a fascist (Lamboglia) or fascistoid (Almagro) party. At no point in the exchanges between Hawkes and Pericot did the former find it a problem that his Catalan colleague was living in a country under a right-wing dictatorship, heir to the regimes that had been overthrown by the Allies in World War II. In this respect he was not an exception, as even that self-proclaimed Marxist archaeologist, Gordon Childe, also seemed to be fairly happy with such a situation (see Chapter 4). Hawkes, however, perhaps went a bit further than the others in his use of language and his comments, although this may be due to the friendship that seems to have united them. For example, echoing Franco's salutation of "¡Arriba España!", he wrote "Arriba Prehistoria! Arriba Pericot!" (FP- 25-4-1951), or, years later, "arriba la hamaca"! (FP- 30-6-1954), probably referring to the hammock Pericot had in his holiday home on the coast of Bagur where he spent the summers. These were not the only comments that could sound positive to today's ears. In 1952, on the occasion of the discourse that Pericot gave in the presence of the dictator Franco at the opening of the academic year at the CSIC, Hawkes remarked: "and then to Madrid where I shall imagine you giving a magnificent oration in praise of prehistory before the Chief of the State" (FP- 17-4-1952). A few days later he continued: "Margaret has written to me of your magnificent discourse before the Caudillo. What a splendid occasion! I am eager to hear more of it, and to read the copy of it which she promises me [(Pericot 1952c)], through your kindness --------- Thank you for remembering me" (FP- 29-4-1952).

The International Summer Courses of Ampurias

As mentioned above, after the two first letters dated in 1940 there is a gap of seven years until 1947. However, some indirect contact is mentioned in the correspondence between Childe and Pericot. In 1943, Childe said that he had given his greetings to Hawkes as requested (FP- Childe 8-5-1943).

In the same letter, Childe also commented on Hawkes' latest publication (Hawkes 1940) "Hawkes also published a book covering rather the same field as my *Dawn* but in places more fully though without any footnotes and in very difficult English. It is called 'The Foundations of Europe down to the Mycenaean Age' and is full of new and original ideas as well as facts; his treatment of megaliths will interest you particularly". On 20 January 1946, before another planned visit by Pericot to Britain and before Hawkes moved to Oxford, Childe suggested that he should visit museums: "the collections in Cambridge are certainly accessible, and I think for you Kendrick and Hawkes will be able to make those of the British Museum available" (FP- Childe 20-1-1946).

From 1947 to 1950 the correspondence between Hawkes and Pericot was mainly related to Hawkes' participation in the first and fourth international summer courses of Ampurias. Courses of this kind were not unusual in Spain. The tradition of organising university summer courses had started in Spain in the early 1930s during the Second Republic (1931-39). They were thought of as a remedial measure to combat the poor training that, as some correctly perceived, students were receiving in the universities. In addition to this, an attempt to reform the universities was made, with a pilot study being undertaken in Catalonia at the University of Barcelona giving it an autonomous regime from 1933 (this explains why some people think that the actual name was changed to the Autonomuous University of Barcelona), with Bosch Gimpera as its rector from December 1933 to October 1934 and subsequently from February 1936 to February 1939 (Gracia Alonso et al. 2009). The summer courses had started in 1933 in Santander, in the Palace of the Magdalene in that city, still today one of the most prestigious venues for holding courses of this kind (Gracia Alonso and Fullola Pericot 2006: 22). The first course in Santander had taken place in 1933, but no archaeologists attended it; it coincided with another of the Republic's educational projects, the well-known cruise around the Mediterranean for students of archaeology, art and architecture, in which many of those who worked in archaeology after the Civil War participated (ibidem). Pericot and Almagro went on the cruise (Gracia Alonso and Fullola Pericot 2006). The impact it had on students was profound: most of those entering the profession in the following period, including the years after the Civil War, had taken part in it. Other similar ventures would follow, although none of them with such a long-lasting effect (ibidem).

After the Civil War, although the reform of the university system was blocked by the Francoist regime (it had already happened in the "National" (i.e. Francoist) zone in 1936), the organisation of the summer courses was allowed to continue. The International Summer Courses of Ampurias were established in 1947 by Martín Almagro and Luis Pericot. They envisaged the courses as part of an institutional network made up of Italian, French and Spanish archaeologists belonging to different institutions. The impression is that of opportunism: there was a remarkable inflation of institutions created in the chaos of the first years of the Franco regime, when many ambitious youngsters obtained positions they would have had to have waited much longer for had the Civil War not favoured Franco's side. A similar situation may have occurred in other parts of Europe after the six years of World War. These institutions provided the platform from which to apply for as many funding pots as possible. The international network thus created had as promoters Pericot and Almagro in Spain and Nino Lamboglia in Italy. For France the situation is less clear, as there are four names mentioned in the literature: Jean Jannoray, Jean Mallon, Maurice Louis and Henri Rolland. All these archaeologists were backed up by a combination of the institutions in which they worked. From 1947 to 1950 only the Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri (International Institute of Ligurian Studies) is mentioned for Italy, but in the case of France the literature points to the Centre of Prehistory of the Institute of Occitan Studies (Centre de Préhistoire de l'Institut d'Études Occitanes, or, in Occitan, the Institut d'Estudis Occitans) (1948) and the University of Montpellier (1949). In the case of Spain, the institutions involved were the Estación de Estudios Pirenaicos (1947, 1948) and the Instituto de Prehistoria Mediterránea (CSIC) (1949, 1950) (for information about the latter institutions see Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009a)[7]. The intricate network of institutions becomes even more complicated when one realises that the International Institute of Ligurian Studies was based in the Museum Birknell in Italy, but consisted of twenty-two 'sections' of which fifteen were in Italy, five in France and two in Spain, the vice-presidents

[7] To add to the intricate network of institutions and congresses, in 1973 Pericot referred to all the "International" Congresses of Pyrenean Studies he had attended: I, San Sebastian (1950) — II, Bagneres de Luchon (1954). III, Gerona (1958). — IV, Pau (1962). — V, Jaca-Pamplona (1966). — VI, Bagneres de Bigorre (1971). He linked this to the several meetings he attended that had been organised by the Instituto di Studi Liguri: Congresos y cursos int. de Estudios Ligures: II Curso Pr. y Arqueología Estudios Ligures, Barcelona, septiembre 1948. — Finale, 1949. — Istituti St. Lig. Montecarlo-Génova, 1950 (Pericot 1973: XX).

being Maurice Louis for France and Martín Almagro for Spain (Lamboglia n.d.).

Officially, this joint venture between Spain, France and Italy seems only to have succeeded in 1948 and 1949[8], although it had been attempted in 1947; on 12 July Hawkes mentioned that he supposed "that the Reunion will then already be at Ampurias and not still at Genova" (FP- Hawkes 12-7-1947). However for that year of 1947, the combination of courses did not seem to work, as it seems that only the International Summer Course of Ampurias – the first of its kind – went ahead. In 1948, two courses were organised in combination under the XI International Agreement (Convenio) of Ligurian Studies (Ripoll Perelló 1974: ix). The first was directed by the International Institute of Ligurian Studies – Nino Lamboglia – in combination with the Centre of Prehistory of the Institute of Occitan Studies. The Italian-French meeting took place in the south of France from 23 August to 5 September 1948 and several prehistoric sites were visited. Most of the participants in the first course then moved on to the Spanish course in Ampurias, the second Ampurias International Summer Course[9] (5 to 13 September). In Catalonia more visits to archaeological sites and museums took place. Amongst those who participated were Massimo Pallotino, Aldo Crivelli and Ferdinand Benoît (Ripoll Perelló 1974: x).

Hawkes, one of the British archaeologists who participated twice (1947 and 1950) in this international course (see Chapter 6), thought that such international collaboration was commendable:

> I have also to-day (sic) written to Almagro, and what have (sic) said to him I say also to you: these Cursos (sic) embracing Spain, Italy and S. France together are really a splendid thing! We can all make such things within our own countries; we can also invite foreign scholars to them; but that the 'Congress' itself should perambulate between one country and another,

[8] From 1950, only the Institute of Ligurian Studies is mentioned as a partner for the Ampurias Summer Courses (Ripoll Perelló 1974). The Centre de Preistòria de l'Institut d'Estudis Occitans must have been short lived, as Mr Jan Moreu, the current National Director of the Institut d'Estudis Occitans, informed me that he had never heard of it. Neither had he heard of any of the names of the archaeologists mentioned in this article (pers. comm. 4-7-2006).

[9] Daniela Gandolfi, in her article about the Italian archaeologists Bernabò Brea and Nino Lamboglia, includes a photograph of a visit to Comte Begouën in the South of France dated September 1948. She states that this visit took place during the "Spanish Week", although it seems that logically one should reserve that name for the events taking place in Spain from 5 September (Gandolfi 2004: Fig. 1).

making an organic integration between them, is a real innovation, and one which I hold to be of outstanding importance for our studies. So I wish you the very best of luck this year. (FP- Hawkes 8-8-1949).

Hawkes' participation in the first International Summer Course of Ampurias (1947).

The first Ampurias course, like most of those that followed, was based in the Greek colony and later Roman city of Emporion (Ampurias in Castilian, Empúries in Catalan), although visits were usually organised to other sites and museums. Until 1960 the Ampurias courses were co-directed by Professors Martín Almagro Basch and Luis Pericot Garcia, followed by Almagro Basch (1961-64), Almagro Basch and Eduardo Ripoll (1965-66), Ripoll (1966-1982) and then by the directors of the Museo de Ampurias (today's Museu d'Empúries).

Figure 6.9. The First International Summer Course of Ampurias in 1949. In the front row Almagro is the first on the left and Pericot is seated on the far right. Source: Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya.

In 1947, several foreign scholars attended the event (Fig. 6.9). Jean Mallon and Nino Lamboglia represented France and Italy respectively. Christopher Hawkes and the Portuguese Eugenio Jalhay were also enrolled. Hawkes, however, had not been the first British archaeologist to be invited. Pericot

had first contacted Grahame Clark who, like Pericot until then, was working on hunter-gatherers and early agriculturalists. As seen in Chapter 5, however, Clark declined the offer, as he had just been awarded a stipendium to travel to Scandinavia and therefore could only get to Spain in the third week of September, too late for the course (FP- Clark 26-5-1947). Pericot had also approached Prof. Garrod, again a specialist in a period closer to his own interests, but she was also unable to attend and in their place the invitation fell to Christopher Hawkes, the newly appointed Professor of European Archaeology at Oxford. This choice would have been well liked by the other course director, Martín Almagro, due to the latter's interest in Iron Age archaeology.

Hawkes sent four letters before the course took place in September 1947 and one immediately after. He accepted the invitation on 29 March 1947, but on 10 May hinted that he would not have the funds to travel to Spain. On 12 July he mentioned that "the question of my visiting also Barcelona and Madrid, as you kindly suggest, is primarily one of financial character: it is not possible for me to have much money with me, and my position can only be of a guest of the Consejo [CSIC]". This comment most probably made Pericot realise that his application to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for Hawkes to receive some funding for his stay had gone astray. On 17 July 1947, Pericot explained in a letter to the ministry[10] that he had first approachedanother British scholar in addition to the Portuguese Father Eugenio Jalhay, as well as Schulten and Lamboglia (the combination of scholars from Portugal, Germany and Italy was probably made on purpose). Pericot's letter had the desired effect; the ministry bureaucrats finally sent the invitation to Christopher Hawkes on 24 July 1947. The accompanying letter stated that travelling expenses and some funds for accommodation would be provided. On 2 August Hawkes replied to the Spanish Embassy saying:

> I have received with very great pleasure your letter transmitting to me formally the invitation, on the part of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, to visit Spain in order to take part in the Cursos de Verano [summer courses] and to remain up to two weeks in your country for the purposes of study and collaboration with Spanish colleagues in my subject, Archaeology. I esteem this invitation as a mark of honour, and a gesture towards the University of Oxford which will be greatly appreciated there, no less than as a token of your authorities' generosity and their regard for the human sciences. I accept with cordial gratitude, and note that your

[10] The Ministry of Spanish Foreign Affairs (Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, MAE). Document R-2477 exp. 55.

> authorities will defray the expenses both of my stay in Spain and my journey back to England, which I appreciate very warmly. (R-2477 exp. 55)

Hawkes then wrote to Pericot that if he had "this good money for the expenses of the 15 days, and you arrange my journeys and my places to sleep, wherever I go, I am very happy to do whatever you fix" (FP- 16-8-1947). Hawkes lectured in French on the "Chronologie Hallstattienne: L'Italie et l'Europe Centrale et Occidentale" (FP- 12-7-1947). When, a couple of months before his arrival, Pericot offered to send Spanish publications, he answered that the "Librarian is making a list for me of anything we already *have* here at Oxford: then I shall write to you about the *desiderata*: it is most good of you to suggest this. Particularly things that will bear upon the period and subject of my suggested lecture, e.g. 'Urnfield' Literature, 'Hallstatt' beginnings, etc., in your country. But of course we need much also on Iberian Iron Age too, Roman and 'Migration'" (FP- 10-5-1947). He sent Pericot and Almagro a chronological table so that they could see in advance what system he was going to expound. It was only provisional, but it was "based on our latest views about Greek and Etruscan things in Italy, and on Central and N. Europe and Britain; it will be interesting to see how this compares with the Spanish doctrines" (FP- 16-8-1947). Hawkes' system was later published in the journal *Ampurias* (Hawkes 1947-48).

The Ampurias summer course lasted from 25 August to 15 September. It was inaugurated in the Archaeological Museum of Barcelona and then moved to Ampurias, where a stratigraphic trial pit was excavated next to the southern wall of the Neapolis. Visits were undertaken to various prehistoric and historic sites (in Agullana, Romañá, Seriñá, etc.), as well as to many museums in Barcelona and elsewhere in Catalonia. The course finished with a talk by the German archaeologist Adolf Schulten on Tartessos (Ripoll Perelló 1974). Hawkes would later comment that his "renewal with Pericot had come through the summer-school and opening of the museum at Ampurias, 1947; at the *fiesta maior* of La Escala we all danced in the *sardanas*" (Hawkes 1982a: 97).

The following letter was sent by Hawkes after his visit to Spain. In it he thanked Pericot for all his kindness:

> I obtained a most happy impression of the work of archaeology which you are all doing, especially at Ampurias, and look forward eagerly to reading more of it, as your periodicals and books reach me, and to making it better

> known among my colleagues and students, some of whom I hope will visit you in time soon to come, and gain great profit. I hope to be able to send you some of our publications before long, in accordance with the arrangement which I proposed through Maluquer. (FP- 21-9-1947)

However, Hawkes did not write to Pericot again for almost two years, although perhaps, as his first letter after his long silence hints, he may have kept more in contact with Pericot's colleague in Barcelona, Almagro. His letter of 8 August 1949 started with an apology. "You are right to raise your eyebrows at my rather too long silence. I was delighted to hear from you, as I always am; but I have wanted to write to you a 'proper letter', and these last few months have not been propitious to the moods of the imagination and reflexion (sic): I could not get rid of my University work till the end of June" (FP- Hawkes 8-8-1949). What he meant by 'propitious'is not clear, but he may have been referring to his problems at home (Finn 2005: chapter six). As the comments that follow imply, Hawkes had received information on the third Summer Course of Ampurias about which he expressed his positive opinion because of "the example which Almagro and you have set, and the Italian-French Institute of Lamboglia and Montpellier with you, in demonstrating that such things *can* be done, and successfully and well" (FP- Hawkes 8-8-1949). One of the great outcomes, he thought, was that the courses were bringing together French archaeologists like Maurice Louis, Philippe Héléna, Sylvain Gagnière, Henri Rolland, M. Coulouma and the Italian Lamboglia. Given the French archaeologists' "very backward condition […] it is of course for this reason especially good, that you now have them locked with you together with Lamboglia in this participation of activity" (ibidem). In the same letter he commented:

> There: I have finished what I most wished to say; but I want to add this. I see from the brochure that you have excavations at a poblado [settlement] at ULLASTRET, and also at CASTELL near Gerona: such sites interest me much![11] and also it is good, that you thus bring in to the Cursos *practical* work. For much talking is no good, unless the *technique of excavation* is also good. Your country is dry, ours is wet: this makes differences in the nature of the strata and in preservation of remains. But the need for rigorous technique is the same; so I hope that this part of the

[11] Three months later, despite the fact that they were still in the midst of the university term, Pericot explained "In some days we begin to work in *Castell* and *Ullastret*. Every day is Ullastret more interesting" (BOD-Hawkes, Box 21, letter from Pericot dated on 6-11-1949).

> proceedings will be particularly successful, and that all will take it really seriously (especially any French who come!). (FP- 8-8-1949)

Hawkes had said more about his poor opinion of French archaeology earlier in the letter: "the state of archaeology in the South of France is distinctly shaky! My colleague Piggott (Edinburgh) and his wife have lately been touring there, and reported that for ex. it is normally very difficult to get any access at all to the Musée de la Société des Antiquaires de Montpellier, that there is yet no provision at Narbonne for the accessibility of the prehistoric collections of M. Helena, while further south at Autun things are even worse, as the great collections from the Camp de Chassey have been removed from the Musée Rollin altogether, and are simply stacked in the back room of the Hotel de Ville" (FP- 8-8-1949). Neither was Portuguese archaeology in better shape: "they are in a terrible backward state" (ibidem), nor was archaeology in Brittany "now that the long reign of Le Rouzic is ended, things are not well set there for the opening of a new era; in fact they are probably worse than in Portugal" (ibidem).

Interestingly, it seems that Hawkes linked the idea of the Ampurias course with the Limes congresses organised for the first time in Newcastle in July 1949. In August of that year he told Pericot about the first Limes congress organised by King's College (now Newcastle University) the previous month. He had been

> to our North Country, to Hadrian's Wall, where our northern colleagues arranged *Cursos ambulantes* [courses in which scholars moved from one place to the other], there called a 'pilgrimage', along the wall from sea to sea, followed by *C. immobiles* [lectures] at Newcastle on Problems of Roman Frontiers. Here came Van Giffen, two of the older and more friendly Germans with whom we have thus recommenced our former liaison with their Limesforschung, Lauer and Alföldi, an Italian who had been in Bulgaria, and others including the French Colonel Baradez who has just published a big book on Paris […], called *Fossatum Africae*, and consisting of an air-photographic and ground survey, supplemented by some initial test-excavations, of the Roman Frontier-works along the desert margin in French North Africa [(Baradez 1949a; 1949b)]. I think it does not extend to the Maghreb; but now that you are in better relations with some at least of the French, this book should certainly become known to Spanish scholarship, both for its own sake (it is *very* good), and for the possibility of such exploration in Spanish Africa. Now or while you are in France for the Cursos, you should certainly order this for your library; and if they do not yet know it in Madrid you should tell Bellido [García

> Bellido], and he should get it too […] En principe it was decided that at intervals of a few years similar *Congresses of Roman Frontier Studies* shall be held in other countries having Roman Limites: Spain should know this, and one day let us hope that one will be started at Numantia, going on to visit whatever remains of Roman military works there may be in Cantabria and N.W. Spain. Also, if as is likely the next one will be in French N. Africa, there may arise the question of a Spanish-African contribution. I tell you this en passant for you to talk of with the colleagues, as a thing of this kind should certainly contemplate the participation of Spain. (FP- 8-8-1949)

In 1949 Hawkes was also invited to participate in the Spanish National Archaeological Congress in Alcoy[12], but he replied that he was unable to go as it was being held during the university term (FP- 28-12-1949).

Hawkes in Ampurias and the Balearics – 1950.

The fourth International Summer Course of Ampurias took place in September 1950. Before meeting in Spain, however, Pericot and Hawkes had already met twice elsewhere: in Italy at the end of April and in Zürich in August. About the latter more will be explained in the following section, although we will add here that, after Zürich, Hawkes and Pericot travelled together to Barcelona (FP- Hawkes, 3-4-1950). The first meeting, at the I International Congress of Mediterranean Prehistory and Protohistory meeting, had first been mentioned by Hawkes in 1949: "I have been notified that the Italians intend to convene a 'Mediterranean Archaeology' Congress at Florence in the spring (primavera) of 1950. This might be something of the same utility? But details of it have not yet reached me" (FP- 8-8-1949). He would later say "I hope I may come to Italy for the Florence-Rome Congress, at which Pallottino has asked me to speak about Etruscan Hallstatt" (FP- 28-12-1949). They both attended (Gracia Alonso et al. 2002: eleventh photograph between pages 156 and 157) and Hawkes published in its proceedings (Hawkes 1950a). After this, Hawkes went

[12] Again, it is very interesting to note that Hawkes was invited to the National Archaeological Congress to be held in Alcoy in 1950. However, the meeting that took place in Alcoy was an Archaeological Congress of the Southeast, which was never known as a National Archaeological Congress (CNA – Congreso Nacional de Arqueología). The decision for the CNAs to meet only every two years must have been taken after Pericot's letter. As the first Archaeological Congress of the Southeast (CASE) had taken place in Cartagena in 1949, once the decision was taken for the CNA to meet every two years, the 1950 Alcoy congress could not have been considered a CNA.

back to Britain via Paris together with Bosch Gimpera. The latter would write to Pericot that the English professor had not stopped talking about Bronze Age chronology (letter in Gracia Alonso et al. 2002: letter 136, dated 16-05-1950), an anecdote that Hawkes still remembered, perhaps with certain annoyance, thirty years on (Hawkes 1982a: 97).

Christopher Hawkes was not the only one approached to participate in the Ampurias course, as his wife Jacquetta and Gordon Childe were also invited. Childe, however, wrote a few days before the course excluding himself due to the problems he had with the heat (FP- 29-8-1950, see Chapter 4). The Hawkes, however, went ahead and took part in the course. It was the first time for Jacquetta, as she had not been able to accept the invitation received in 1947. Then Hawkes had explained that he would not take his wife as "we have also to think of our son; and I expect that a Congress would not be a good holiday for him!" (FP- 29-3-1947). This time Jacquetta did not attend the conference in Zurich, but went directly to Spain with Nicolas. The talk she proposed was on the history of archaeology, with the title of, as her husband explained, "_'Philosophie de la Prehistoire', essaying (sic) to define the nature of our subject, between the Humanistic and the Scientific disciplines: this kind of thing she does – as all things – extremely well, and we believe it useful, in the midst of such amounts of new material, new factual interpretations, new techniques, to consider sometimes also 'Ou en sommes-nous?'" (FP- 3-4-1950). Christopher Hawkes proposed a talk about "Mediterranean-British relations in the Bronze Final" (ibidem), although only Jacquetta's name is recorded as a speaker by Ripoll Perelló (1974: xi). Neither is there any mention of John D. Evans, then one of Glyn Daniel's students (Chapter 5), although Nicolas Hawkes remembers him being there (Hawkes 2002: 314).

The Ampurias course of 1950 was based on a tour starting in Barcelona and including the Balearic Islands of Mallorca, Menorca and Ibiza. It lasted from 2 to 16 September and was supervised by Almagro and Pericot, with Beltrán acting as secretary (Ripoll Perelló 1974: xi). Other Spanish scholars present were the Marquis of Lozoya, Alberto del Castillo, José Colominas, Pedro de Palol, Julián San Valero and Joaquín Tomás. To this group we could also add Georg and Vera Leisner, a German husband and wife team of archaeologists specialising in megalithic Iberia. From Italy came Lamboglia (N. Hawkes pers. comm.), Luigi Bernabò Brea, Paolo Graziosi and Massimo Pallotino, from Switzerland Pierre Bouffard and from France, Jean Jannoray and Maurice Louis. The party was

completed by an archaeologist whose nationality I have been unable to ascertain, C. Bodmer, and Jacquetta and Christopher Hawkes (and their son Nicolas). The course started in Barcelona on 2 September with a visit to the archaeological museum and in the evening everybody embarked on the ferry to the Balearic Islands. The first island visited was Mallorca. Jacquetta Hawkes gave the official opening address of the course in French on 4 September and on the same day the whole party moved to Ibiza, returning to Palma on 6 September. An anecdote recorded by the very young Nicolas Hawkes in his diary for 12 September was that Graziosi was unable to give his lecture on Palaeolithic Art because Bernabò Brea extensively overran his allotted time! On 13 September, the group moved to Menorca (Fig. 6.10) in a less than satisfactory boat on which most of the party became seasick[13].

Figure 6.10. Christopher Hawkes in Talatí de Dalt. Photo: Nicolas Hawkes.

[13] Beltrán relates several anecdotes – none related to the Hawkes – about the eventful trip to Menorca (Beltrán Martínez 1988: 87-8). However, Ripoll (1974: xi-xii) offers contradictory information about the route and I have preferred to follow Nicolas Hawkes' notes based on his personal diary (N. Hawkes pers. comm. 18-7-2006). About this trip also see Hawkes (1982a: 97).

On 16 September they returned to Barcelona. A month later Kendrick commented: "I hear you & the family Hawkes had a wonderful time. Jacquetta is full of your praises!" (FP- Kendrick 14-10-1950). Christopher Hawkes was also exultant:

> The programme of *Conferences* was *Excellent*: all were good! The visits were sometimes not enough helped by Explanations; but there was much done by the admirable Beltran, by Castillo and others who made personal talks. It was excellent too, that the Italians were such good colleagues. Altogether, I cannot regret such a wonderful trip, even though it has given me this wretched disease - and even though all the time things so often seemed chaotic!! (FP- Hawkes, 23-10-1950).

The disease he was talking about was typhoid fever, which he had contracted while in Spain and had kept him in the isolation hospital for two months (Hawkes 1982a: 97). He published his lecture in *Ampurias* (Hawkes 1952), but before this he did some more reading:

> I have been intensely studying the problems of the Bronce Final [sic, Final Bronze Age], in their connection with your relations with Britain in the time of the Ría de Huelva [(Almagro 1940)], and the Periplus afterwards. I have had to study all the big *Hispania Graeca* of Bellido [(García y Bellido 1948)], the new volume of Ampurias, the old stuff about the Phoenicians, your own good book [(Pericot 1950c)], and the question of the early 'Gallia Graeca' in the mediodia de la Francia, and of the Rhodians, and how soon they arrived at Rhodé. (FP- 14-3-1951)

After Ampurias 1950-1978

After his contribution to the fourth Ampurias Summer Course, Hawkes was invited to participate in 1951 and again in 1956, although on both occasions he wrote back apologising for not being able to attend (FP- Hawkes, 14-3-1951 and 19-3-1956). In 1951 he explained that as president of the Prehistoric Society he had to be at a meeting in Ireland (FP- 14-3-1951). He suggested Pericot invite the Swede, Carl-Axel Althin, a specialist in Scandinavian rock art working at the Historiska Museum of Lund ("very nice, with a charming wife, who travels with him") and also his student, Miss Margaret Smith (FP- 11-12-1950). Instead of her, in 1951 the British invitee was Miles Burkitt (see Chapter 5). Not until 1960 did another British scholar, Professor John D. Evans, attend an Ampurias Summer Course. Despite not participating again in the course after 1950, Hawkes acknowledged the significance of his visit to Ampurias as early as 1955, when he wrote to his colleague Luis Pericot that he had "received a

grant of money, and permission to be absent from the University for 2 terms in 1956, in order to study the relations of the Mediterranean lands with Central Europe and the West… my first steps in all this were taken for the Cursos of Ampurias 1947, and I must record that this experience has helped me to obtain now this further opportunity, so that my gratitude is always in part for you" (FP- Hawkes 20-6-1955). Hawkes also remembered the Ampurias courses in his "Archaeological Retrospect" (1983), which also seems to indicate how important they were for his personal academic development.

The Balearics had been crucial for Hawkes, but it appears that Italy was even more important. As he said in his retrospective: "the great year was 1950, which brought me to Italy" (Hawkes 1982a: 97). This assertion fits in well with his international research projects after 1950, when, instead of specialising in Spain, he focused on Italy where he travelled extensively in 1955-56 as a Leverhulme Research Fellow. Spain was always kept as a possibility, but following the tradition started by E.T. Leeds he began to look towards Portugal, where he excavated in 1958 and 1959 (Hawkes 1958; 1959; 1971; 1984). In 1965, he informed Pericot that for several reasons, including the expectation that he was going to have a student specialising in Spanish archaeology, he had been "reading and reading. We have the *Ampurias*, *Actas y Memorias*, *Archivo*, *Zephyrus*, *Emerita*, *Revista de Guimarães* and I don't know what else: I have been working through them all". He also explained that there were "more immediate purposes: I really must now publish my excavations of 1958-9 in northern Portugal" (FP- 8-5-1965). He also added that his visit to Aragón, probably for the meeting of the Permanent Council of the UISPP in Zaragoza in September 1964 (Beltrán 1964), and the publication of the I Symposium (Symposium... 1960) had made him aware of the many new things occurring in Spanish archaeology (FP- Hawkes, 8-5-1965). Hawkes went to the Tartessos International Symposium organised by Maluquer in Jerez in 1968 (Hawkes 1969).

All his life Hawkes remained deeply indebted to his early visits to Spain. In the same letter of May 1965 mentioned above, he wrote this amazing eulogy in his characteristic mixture of English, Spanish and Italianised Spanish:

> ____ there is of course the profound emotional appeal to me of everything in the Prehistory and archaeology of Cataluña [Catalonia] and the Baleares, and of the names and personalities inseparable from them.

> A painter of the Baroque would have made of you all such a fine allegorical composition, crowding the slopes and niches of the monticole [hill?] set with megalithic and cyclopean structures: the deeply cerebrating Maluquer, the gallant Tarradell, the humorous Arribas, the inscrutable Serra, the handsome girls, pouring from their cornucopias typologically significant ceramics, and at the top yourself, presiding and directing from a hammock suspended beneath an overspreading talayotic slab ____ while in the sky, floating on a cloud and attired as the Jupiter Serapis, a distant Bosch benignly smiles.
>
> These figures, and all the many more besides, whether always immediate in the consciousness like Beltrán, in his laurels of Zaragoza and now with his todavía el problema de la muralla de Tarragona [i.e. "still the problem of the (Iberian/Roman) wall of [the town of] Tarragona"]; or more remote now like Castillo, have all of them high places in the doings of my life, and it is felicity to count them colleagues and true friends: none more true nor more felicitous than you, whom I have always so much loved, and whose generosity to me has continually been so great. So this new book [(VVAA 1965)], like the two 'Symposium' books before it [(Symposium... 1960; 1962)], re-awakens strong feelings in my heart; and its arrival is ideal to me for that cause first. (FP- 8-5-1965)

He obviously knew the Barcelona group well. Still in 1972, he wrote:

> My dear friend, I write to commemorate the 25th Anniversary of the Cursos de Ampurias 1947, when you gave me the inestimable benefit of re-introduction to the archaeological companionship of Spain. Now I become pensionado [i.e. jubilado, meaning retired]; we have recently returned from Mazarrón [a coastal village in the southeast of Spain] where we are acquiring un apartamento permanente [he probably meant a flat to move into]. I expect to spend months in Spain each year, and I hope to visit Barcelona this October. Yr. Christopher Hawkes (FP- Hawkes 15-8-1972).

Despite his comments, Hawkes never moved to Spain. He was sent a postcard signed by Tarradell, the Pericots (Luis and his daughter Mª Luisa), Ana Mª Rauret and Ana Mª Muñoz from the XIII National Congress of Archaeology in La Rábida, Andalusia (BOD-Hawkes, Box 21, 11-10-1973). He visited Pericot in May 1975 on his way to Mazarrón (FP- 24-2-1975 and 8-4-1975). After a four-month illness, Pericot died on 12 October 1978 (BOD-Hawkes, Box 21, 29-10-1978, letter from María Luisa Pericot to Hawkes). Communication continued with his daughter María Luisa, who invited him to participate in a homage to Maluquer at the time of his retirement, but he did not receive her letter in time (BOD-Hawkes, Box 21, 12-6-1986). He said that even if he were given a

moratorium, he had "to confess that I could not find any suitable subject, within my powers to treat in the course of this summer". However, he added

> Nonetheless, I remain determined to amend my present incapacity. Immediately on my release from what is actually causing it: my heavy outstanding commitments to researching and writing in British archaeology, in directions remote from any which could suit publication in Spain. I have certainly never abandoned my Peninsular interest! by the pressure of the British, imposing fixed dates for two big publications, is impossible -- much though I regret it -- for me to escape.
>
> My release will come next year, perhaps early within it. And then, when I shall gladly be reverting to immersion in Peninsular affairs, I shall write you an article to publish in whatever Barcelona periodical may be suitable, an article appropriate in scope and subject; and shall prefix to it a dedication to don Juan Maluquer de Motes, in the 40th year of our friendship, 1987.
> (BOD-Hawkes, Box 21, 12-6-1986)

The fortieth anniversary Hawkes referred to was, of course, that of the Ampurias International Summer Courses.

Students and protégés: Margaret Smith/Brown and others

Because of his interest in Spanish archaeology, especially in his first decade in his Oxford Chair, Christopher Hawkes tried to encourage several students to do archaeology in Spain with the help of Pericot and Almagro. At least two former pupils and six students are mentioned in his letters: Margaret Smith (later Margaret Brown), Ilid E. Anthony, William Graves, Michael J. Walker and two unnamed students. Of these, the most frequently mentioned was the first, Margaret Smith. In December 1950, he introduced her as his one-time student at Oxford ("my Quondam pupil"). He explained that she "is a girl of ? 25, *most* intelligent" and that she had been in Seville, learning Spanish and was at that moment in France with M. Louis at Montpellier studying the Mesolithic-Neolithic sequence in the Midi de la France (FP- 11-12-1950). She wrote a month later expressing interest in Pericot's publication of his excavations in the Cave of Cocina (FP- 20-1-1951), which he had sent her (FP- Smith 7-1-1952). Hawkes mentioned that she may want to go to the course in Santander (FP-Hawkes 14-3-1951). In January 1952, Margaret Smith went to Barcelona to study Beakers (FP- Hawkes 23-12-1951). She was also planning to go to Madrid and contacted Martínez Santa-Olalla (FP- Hawkes 23-1-1952). After Spain, Margaret Smith went to Germany and then asked Pericot

whether it would be possible for him to send her an article referring to (Ballester Tormo 1928) she had been unable to find anywhere other than in his library. She eventually published her article in the *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* (Smith 1953), although before this she had asked Pericot for help in finding an illustration[14], which he must have sent her, as she later thanked him for the photograph (FP- 31-3-1954).

Margaret Smith started work as Hawkes' Departmental Assistant in 1953 (FP- Hawkes 10-3-1953). He mentioned that she was "working to write the English Dictionary of prehistoric terminology, which we shall offer to the Congress (CISPP) as a model for the Polyglot Dictionary of the future. That will be at the C.P. [Permanent Council] 1956" (FP- 3-3-1955). She left, however, to get married and then emigrated to Canada. In 1965, Hawkes wrote: "Miss Smith --- now Mrs. Brown and returning from Canada, with two boys, and husband appointed to the University of Kent" (FP- 8-5-1965). A couple of years later he asked on her behalf for Pericot's delayed book on the archaeology of the Balearic Islands, which she was going to translate.

In the 1950s, Hawkes mentioned another former pupil and an unnamed student in his letters. In 1952, he introduced Pericot to Miss Ilid E. Anthony, "who has a British Council scholarship to visit Spain this autumn. Miss Ilid is now the Curator of the Roman Baths and Museum in Bath, and she wants to study the early Iron Age. She intends to travel widely in the peninsula -- especially perhaps in the regions of Maluquer" (FP- 18-9-1953). As the letters between Hawkes and Ilid E. Anthony (BOD-Hawkes, Box 1) have some discussions about Galician archaeology, it seems that in the end this student headed towards northwest Spain. No other reference to her is found in the Pericot Archive, despite her long career as a Romanist, although she attended the IV CISPP in Madrid. In 1959, Hawkes had a pupil "who studies with me the archaeological value of Celtic *fibulas*; for this, the Peninsula fibulas of the Iron Age" (FP- 8-3-1959), but nothing else is heard of him or her later on. Still in the 1950s, Pericot was introduced to another student from Oxford, William Culican, although the presentation did not come from Hawkes, but from the Edinburgh professor, Stuart Piggott (FP- 28-9-1954). During Culican's trip to Spain in November, Pericot introduced him to Tarradell and others.

[14] She asked for a copy of Illustration XIV number 1 in Castillo's book (Castillo 1928), which also appeared in Bosch Gimpera's Ethnology (Bosch Gimpera 1932) (Smith13-2-1954, 8-3-1954).

He later travelled on to Morocco, Carthage, Sardinia and Italy (FP-Culican 1-9-1955).

In the 1960s, Hawkes wrote to Pericot about three other students: Michael J. Walker, William Graves and an unnamed Irish student. About Walker, Hawkes explained that he was at University College (Oxford) and was "keen on Prehistory and archaeology; he already knows something of Spain, and is much interested in Petroglyphs (Galicia, etc.), but now he wishes to come again to Spain, in the summer if possible, and to work in the Baleares. He is a very nice boy, and to-day he has written a letter to you… He begs you to help and advise him! and I beg you to do for him what you can" (FP- 25-2-1960). Walker visited Spain in April, after which he wrote to Pericot thanking him for "all the kindness and advice which you showed to me during my short stay in Barcelona" (FP- Walker 21-4-?1960). A few months later he again wrote to Pericot telling him that Prof. Hawkes was very satisfied with his work in Barcelona and Madrid and that he had suggested he excavate with Pericot in Menorca (FP- 10-2-?1961). As he wanted to be paid, it seems that Pericot did not answer either this letter or a very similar one a fortnight later (FP- 25-2-?1961). At some point, however, Michael Walker and Christopher Hawkes had some sort of disagreement and John D. Evans from the Institute of Archaeology in London was chosen as an external supervisor.

In 1964, Hawkes mentioned another student, William Graves, who unfortunately after only one term found archaeology "too austere" for him (FP- 8-5-1965). A year later, Hawkes announced that he was going to have "a Spanish-speaking student who will take France and the Peninsula as speciality… a young and promising Irishwoman, with academic honours in Spanish literature and language… And the next year, the Irishwoman will start (I hope) on a dissertation, and must visit Spain and work there" (FP- 8-5-1965). He was working hard to prepare his lectures for her and wanted to renew his teaching material. As he said:

> So now finally, I want your advice about *photographs*, and if possible *transparencies in colour*, for me to use in Oxford for my project glorifying Hispanic archaeology here. Is it possible to get colour pictures *from the Museums*? Iberian ceramics? Sculptures? Gold and silver treasure? bronzes? My existing projections are all monochrome and mostly old: not good, and I should make a new beginning. Whom should I address? We can offer *exchanges*: of colour-projections reproduced from this Institute's own collection, or made new from English museums especially for the purpose. The painted pottery of the Ebro (Cortes) naturally interests me too; the Neolithic/Early Bronze also, though not with such urgency, as the

> period I must *specially* teach is the *1st* millennium; the Palaeolithic is not in my province, though we shall do more on it later. I really should *appreciate immensely*, whatever *directions* you could give me for starting this project. (FP- 8-5-1965)

Pericot wrote back saying that "the promising Irishwoman you announce, shall be welcomed and aided in all she needs. When will she come?", and he added: "As for the slides, now it is not difficult to get what you like. As I hope to meet you in Jutland, and Beltrán will be with me, we can organise the change between our Institutes" (BOD-Hawkes, Box 21, 13-8-1965). However, the Irishwoman was not mentioned again in the letters and it seems likely that she dropped her studies. After all these failures, a few years later Hawkes explained that he was no longer encouraging students to do Spanish archaeology, as the problems with his eyes meant that he could not supervise them on his own. Therefore, he had "been devoting them to English and Germanic archaeology where my wife can help me or replace me" (FP- 19-4-1969).

Pericot did not directly send students to Oxford, although Hawkes mentions two coming from Barcelona and Madrid: Gloria Trías and Antonio Blanco. Regarding Trías, he described her as "a nice girl, simpatica and intelligent […] The old Sir John Beazley is still with us, very deaf, but doing much for Gloria on the Greek vases of Ampurias" (FP- 10-3-1953). He showed interest in watching her career (FP- 3-3-1955), as well as that of Pericot's daughter, María Luisa (ibidem), although the latter does not seem to have studied in Oxford. Later, in his letter of 8 March 1959, Hawkes mentioned Gloria Trias' wedding to Antonio Arribas as an inspiration for his own marriage to Sonia Hawkes after a short engagement. As regards Antonio Blanco, he was not a student from Barcelona, nor was he supervised by Hawkes (he worked under Beazley and Jacobsthal from 1947 to 1949 (Blázquez 1995: 187, 191)). Blanco studied under Antonio García Bellido, a professor at the University of Madrid who Hawkes had met in Ampurias in September 1947.

Hawkes, Pericot and the CISPP

Much of the correspondence between Hawkes and Pericot in the early 1950s relates, in addition to the International Courses of Ampurias, to the International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences (CISPP). Oxford's role in setting up the CISPP and organising the first meeting has been explained above. As seen in earlier in this chapter, John Myres had

masterminded the organisation of the first CISPP in London in 1932. It had been one of the main subjects discussed in the correspondence between him and his former pupil, Gordon Childe, from the end of World War II. Myres was convinced of the importance of reviving international conferences and whereas he focused on reviving the congress for anthropologists (the CISAE), he urged Childe to do the same with the CISPP. After a first failed attempt to hold a conference in Prague in 1949, other options were considered. Pericot proposed Spain, but he was not successful. By the time the congress finally convened again after World War II, its main organiser in Britain, John Myres, was already in his eighties and probably had little energy to devote to it. His right hand, Gordon Childe, also only a few years away from retirement age, seems to have decided at this time to start tidying his desk of administrative tasks. This cleared the way for Christopher Hawkes, who during these first decades after World War II became a key member of the CISPP. In Spain, circumstances also placed Pericot in a similar position. After Bosch Gimpera went into exile and Obermaier failed to return to Spain, the scholar who fulfilled their role was Blas Taracena. His early death, however, elevated Pericot to the position of the main representative from Spain. The centrality of the CISPP in the letters between Hawkes and Pericot is understandable in the context of two events that will be explained in full in this and the following sections: the election of Hawkes as a member of the CISPP Executive Committee and Pericot's appointment as general secretary and, following Taracena's death in 1951, as president of the CISPP, of which he was also a member of the executive committee (Fig. 6.11). In contrast, from 1952 the correspondence between Childe and Pericot about the CISSP only relates to minor queries about the Madrid conference in 1954[15].

The III CISPP (Zurich) and two new men for the CISPP: Hawkes and Pericot

After World War II, the CISPP finally managed to resume its meetings in 1950 and has been gathering every four years ever since (see Figure 6.12). In August 1949, Hawkes commented to Pericot 'I believe is now certain, the Internat. Prehist. Congress meets in 1950 at Zurich, I think that all of us who believe this should proclaim it with all possible force. Then others

[15] Childe mentioned that he would join the Levante excursion (FP- 22-2-1954) and in August he sent a postcard saying 'Hope you are recovered from the Congress' (FP- 10-8-1954).

	1950-54	1954-58	1958-62	1962-66
H. Arban (Sweden)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
G. Bersu (Germany)	Yes	Yes	-	-
J. Bøe (Norway)	Yes	Yes	Yes	-
A. C. Blanc (Italy)	-	Yes	-	-
J. Böhm (Czechoslovakia)	-	-	Yes	Yes
L. Cardini (Italy)	-	-	Yes	-
J.B. Griffin (USA)	-	-	-	Yes
S. Huzzayyin (Egypt)	Yes	-	-	-
M.E. Mariën (Belgium)	Yes	Yes		-
CFH Hawkes (UK)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
O. Klindt-Jensen (Denmark)	-	-	-	Yes
W, Krämer (Germany)	-	Yes	Yes	Yes
S. J. de Laet (Belgium)	-	Secretary	Secretary	Secretary
L. Pericot (Spain)	Yes (from 6-7 Oct 1951)	Yes	Yes	Yes
B.A. Rybakov (USSR)	-	-	-	Yes
M. Sauter (Switzerland)	-	-	-	Yes
R. Vaufrey (France)	Yes	Yes	Yes	-
E. Vogt (Switzerland)	Secretary	Yes	Yes	-

Figure 6.11. Members of the CISPP Executive Committee from 1950 to 1966.

Type of meeting	DATE[16]		PLACE OF MEETING
CP	24 June	1948	Copenhagen (Denmark)
Failed III C	-	1949	Budapest (Hungary)**
III CISPP	14-19 Aug	1950	Zurich (Switzerland)**
CE	6-7 October	1951	Nancy (France)**
CP	18 April	1952	Namur (Belgium)**
CE	10-11 April	1953	Trier (Germany)**
IV CISPP	21-27 April	1954	Madrid (Spain)**
CE	13-15 July	1955	Oxford (UK)**
CP	9-10 July	1956	Lund (Sweden)**
CE	4-5 August	1957	Barcelona (Spain)*
V CISPP	24-30 Aug	1958	Hamburg (Germany)*
CE	22-24 March	1959	Amersfoort (Netherlands)**
CP	22-23 July	1960	Prague (Czechoslovakia)*
CE	19-21July	1961	Dublin (Ireland)*
VI CISPP	29 Aug-3 Sept	1962	Rome (Italy)*
CE	14-15 July	1963	Belgrade (Yugoslavia)
no CP	September	1964	Washington (?) (USA)*
CP	11-12 Sept	1964	Zaragoza (Spain)*
CE	6-11 Sept	1965	Moesgaard (Denmark)*
VII CISPP	21-27 Aug	1966	Prague (Czechoslovakia)*
CE	4-7 Sept	1967	Vienna (Austria)*
CE	?	1968	Paris***
CP	?	1969	Budapest (Hungary)***
CE	?	1970	Aarhus (Denmark)***
VIII CISPP	9-15 Sept	1971	Belgrade (Yugoslavia)*
CE	?	1972	Mainz (Germany)***
IX CISPP	13-18 Sept	1976	Nice (France)*

Figure 6.12. Meetings related to the CISPP after World War II. CE= Comité Executive (Executive Committee); CP= Conseil Permanent (Permanent Council). * Mentioned in letters and documents in the Pericot Archive. ** Mentioned by Hawkes; *** Mentioned elsewhere in Pericot (1973: XIX).

[16] The dates provided are those mentioned in the letters. They differ slightly from those suggested by de Laet (1970).

may follow this lead' (FP- 8-8-1949). There were many problems with the organisation, however, mostly related to the new president, Emil Vogt from Switzerland, and his slowness in sending out the invitations and other documentation needed by the authorities in each country (Díaz-Andreu 2009: 108).

Hawkes' rise in the profession bore fruit in Zurich. This was made possible by the establishment of the executive committee (Laet 1970: 1432), the exclusive group of seven formed in Zurich that came to administer the affairs of the Congress between meetings as a way of maintaining continuity. This new committee left the previously powerful Permanent Council – on which Childe remained – without much of its authority. Hawkes became a member of the executive committee together with others – Arbman (Sweden), Bersu (Germany), Bøe (Norway), Huzayyin (Egypt)[17], Mariën (Belgium) and Vaufrey (France) (BOD-Myres, Box 65, Docs. 167-8). Childe's dwindling influence in the CISPP compared to that of Hawkes can also be seen in the report on the Zurich meeting published in *Man*. Both of them sent one for publication to Myers, but it was Hawkes' that was printed (Hawkes 1950b) (with regard to the content of Childe's report see Díaz-Andreu 2009: 109-110).

As explained, the meeting in Zurich was not only important for Hawkes' career, but also for Pericot's. In 1950, unlike a year earlier, his proposal for the next CISPP meeting to take place in Spain succeeded in the face of a rival bid made by Italian archaeologists. Blas Taracena became the president of the CISPP and Pericot its secretary general[18], although Taracena's untimely death a year later would result in Pericot taking over the presidency of the congress. Taracena's death also accentuated Hawkes'

[17] Referring to Huzayyin, Childe had commented to Pericot that he had "left Alexandria & gone into the Ministry of Education at Cairo" (Childe 14-1-51). "I suppose we need *not* expect the full Comité (Huzayyin and all!)" (Hawkes 12-12-1950). Pericot, however, introduced him as a professor from the University of Alexandria in a review written on one short article published by the Egyptian scholar (Pericot 1952d).

[18] It is interesting to note that Pericot and not Almagro became the secretary general, despite the fact that the latter was also present at the congress. The reason for this may be that Bosch Gimpera supported Pericot. A booklet of conference participants kept in the Hawkes Archive, Box 59-60, indicates that, in addition to Taracena, Pericot and Almagro, among the representatives from Spain listed were Almagro's wife (who, although she was university graduate, was not professionally active) and Luis Diego Cuscoy from Tenerife.

role as one of Pericot's main advisors regarding the CISPP, a role that, as will be seen below in the letters of December 1949 and October 1950, had already begun before he became the CISPP president. Hawkes counselled Pericot on the steps he should take, advice that the Catalan acted on. Hawkes did not think a meeting of the Permanent Council was needed to choose a new President and recommended an election conducted by postal vote (FP- 14-3-1951). The difficulty for the Spaniards was who to nominate, but a decision had to be taken soon. Hawkes mentioned several names: Pericot himself, Almagro, García Bellido, Martínez Santa-Olalla and the Marquis of Lozoya. A month later, Pericot informed him that "with Bellido and Serra we arrived at last to an agreement which we shall propose to the Permanent Committee by letter. I pass to be president and Mr Antonio Beltrán would be secretary. After much reflexion I think is the best solution although I would have preferred another. So, I pray you to give your support to it" (BOD-Hawkes, Box 59AB-60, 18-4-1951). Hawkes immediately wrote back:

> I am *absolutely delighted* at the news of your nomination as President of the Congress, and I congratulate and *felicitate* you with all my heart. This is *magnificent*! It has given me *immense* pleasure, and I wish you all possible good fortune and happy auguries, for a Presidency of brilliant success, which will bring honour to Spain, and splendid advance to the whole cause of the Prehistoria y Protohistoria mundial. You are now El hombre del Destino.
>
> I pledge to you my unreserved loyalty and support in all things, if there is any possibility for me to help the cause under your leadership. That Beltran shall be Secretary is also excellent: he is a first rate man and a thoroughly delightful fellow; his wife, too, so charming. 1954 will be the *magnus annus*!
>
> For the *Comité Exécutif*, I am telling Vogt that *Nancy* would suit me well, but I should be ready to go anywhere in Europe; as for the *time*, I cannot be free until after our Excursion to Ireland [with the Prehistoric Society of which Hawkes was President], but could readily come any time between about *20 Sept.- 10 Oct*.
>
> (FP- 25-4-1951)

Pericot followed Hawkes' advice and in May the new president was elected by postal vote (BOD-Hawkes, Box 59AB-60, 11-5-1951). On 9 August, Pericot wrote to Hawkes informing him that he had 'received almost half of the suffrages, all affirmative. It is a heavy task for me, rather surmené [?], but I shall try' (BOD-Hawkes, Box 59AB-60, 9-8-1951). The meeting of the executive was held in Nancy (France) on 6 and 7 October 1951.

A new vision for the CISPP and the problems it encountered

A few months before the third CISPP meeting in Zurich, a group made up of Bersu, Bosch and Hawkes (and perhaps Mariën and others) was already discussing a new vision for the CISPP. Hawkes explained it to Pericot in December 1949:

> Our task at Zürich must be – as I see it – to get the Congress organization to set up 'Comisiones', to work through the 4 years until the next Congress; Each Comision [sic] to work at some subject of international value, and each one international in its personnel. For, now, it is not enough to be international only at the stage of conferring about results of work already done inside national compartments! It is necessary also to be international at the stage of *the work itself*. The 'Padres Fundadores' ['Founding Fathers'] of our Congress understood this, and appointed at least one such Comision in 1932, so the West Mediterranean Commission of Mr. Bosch, which met in the Baleares and published its report [(Bosch Gimpera 1937a)][19]. Nobody else did anything! But the principle was shown, by Bosch, in action… Soon I shall write about this to Vogt; and I hope, that those who come to Zürich from Spain will be ready to join such a policy. (FP- 28-12-1949, all italics correspond in this and other quotations to text underlined in the original)

Hawkes also wanted to set up commissions on prehistoric Atlantic coastconnections, urnfields and Bell Beakers (ibidem), a list to which he would later add megaliths, hill-fort types and "laboratory subjects like amber or faience beads or the varieties of ancient bronze" (FP- 23-7-1951), as well as metal finds[20]. Like Bersu and Bosch, he considered it

[19] The International Commission had met in Barcelona in September 1935 (Pericot 1973: XX). The timing of the publication of the report of the International Commission for the Prehistory of the Western Mediterranean, 1937 (in the middle of the Spanish Civil War), hindered its diffusion. Even so, a copy was kept in the Museum of Archaeology in Barcelona and its influence was acknowledged by Guillermo Rosselló Bordoy (pers. comm. 20-2-2009), who also mentioned its influence on Maluquer. The content includes a report on "Compte rendu des séances. Voyage scientifique aux Iles Baléares. Rapport a la Direction des Beaux Arts sur les monuments des Baléares" and articles by Bosch Gimpera and Colominas (Barcelona), Martínez Santa-Olalla (Madrid), de Manneville (Malta) and Astruc (Menorca).

[20] It seems, however, that one of the first to be founded was that on rock art headed by Herbert Kühn who, due to poor health, was soon replaced by Almagro (Gracia Alonso et al. 2002: letter 157 and footnotes).

essential for the CISPP to obtain funding and the only way of doing this was to join UNESCO.

In a letter circulated to other British archaeologists, probably through the CBA or the Prehistoric Society, Hawkes mentioned three main undertakings that were being proposed, although he had his doubts about the first two. The first, which he did not believe to be very useful, was an "International Bibliography of work in pre- and protohistoric studies for the war and immediately post-war years" (FP- 23-7-1951), that had just been proposed by Bersu in Zurich[21] (BOD-Myres 27-8-1950). Hawkes was also sceptical about the second undertaking, a world archaeological newsletter or bulletin ("Where, by whom, in what language, and at whose cost it could be produced would of course be immediate issues. Yet suppose it was rejected and each nation instead called on to produce its own, should there be some central clearing-house through which all such could be exchanged, or should circulation be left to 'bilateral' arrangements?" (FP- 23-7-1951)). He was, however, definitely in favour of projects, among which he distinguished between research projects and what he called utility projects. Among the first, which he also called working-parties, he included the commissions mentioned above.

There were two utility projects: Inventaria Archaeologica and a Polyglot French - English - German dictionary[22]. As seen in the previous section, in the following years Hawkes would be very active in both of them, mainly through the help of his assistant, Margaret Smith. In his letter to other British archaeologists he clarified that the polyglot dictionary of technical terms in archaeology was an old project "undertaken after the 1932 London Congress but presently abandoned in despair" (ibidem). Regarding Inventaria Archaeologica, a project suggested by Marcel E. Mariën, he explained that it was:

> a corpus of each country's most significant Group-Finds of the Bronze and Iron Ages (hoards, grave-groups, &c.), executed not in expensive book form but as a growing series of printed or blue-printed line-reproductions, of standard size and scale (and with references given to the original

[21] Funds were obtained for the bibliography, but were somehow lost. On 17 October 1950, Bosch Gimpera commented that the funds of 3000 dollars he had obtained from UNESCO for the bibliography had been lost (Gracia Alonso et al. 2002: letter 139), most likely because of the delay in the affiliation to UNESCO (see main text).

[22] The languages to be included in the dictionary were French, English and German (FP- Riet Lowe, 3-10-1952)

> publications), which could be circulated to subscribers to file or bind just as they pleased. This would be his remedy for the 'source-starvation' which I think certainly does afflict all those without exceptional library resources. (ibidem)

This planned new vision was proposed at the third CISPP congress in Zurich, but would come up against the opposition of the CISPP president at the time, Emil Vogt of Switzerland. As Hawkes put it to Pericot, the proposals had failed because Vogt had "*saboté* [sabotaged] (*Lantier knows this story*!)" (FP- 12-12-1950). The affiliation to UNESCO proposed by Bosch Gimpera had received, in Hawkes' words, an outrageous treatment. The manoeuvres against him, he explained, also 'were in part directly anti-British, and over which the chairmanship was not impartial' (FP- 23-10-1950). In contrast 'the *Anthropological* Congress, which has not had these funny turns, is already now receiving good money from UNESCO, for good scientific projects' (FP- 12-12-1950). After Zurich, Vogt's strategy for opposing the changes was to not send the protocols (probably meaning minutes?) of meetings. Hawkes warned Pericot that "There is already concern and some annoyance that the Swiss are sending out (as yet) no protocols of the Conseil Meetings held in Zürich. Suspicion will soon grow that this is done expressly and that there are no protocols. Particularly over the Resolution setting up the new Committee, on which some people played such very funny politics, will this suspicion lie" (FP- 23-10-1950). He advised Pericot to write immediately asking for this to be done, for otherwise "all will say, 'Spain is weak' " (FP- 23-10-1950). Hawkes proposed that a small committee be formed to discuss this before a meeting of the executive committee to be called around April (FP- 12-12-1950). This did not come about as Taracena's death on 1 February 1951 made other business more urgent. In the end, Vogt sent the protocols, but they were written in such a confusing manner that the CIPSH could not accept them as an agreement of the CISPP to join it (FP- Bosch to Pericot, 19-2-1952 in Gracia Alonso et al. 2002: letter 155).

The meetings of the Executive Committee and the Permanent Council

On 23 July 1951, three months before the meeting of the Executive Committee, Hawkes sent Pericot a circular he had distributed among British archaeologists, the content of which has been explained above. His aim was not only to gain support amongst British archaeologists (and to let them know of his position on the Executive Committee of the CISPP), but also to influence a series of colleagues around the world in addition to

Pericot, as well as others mainly from English-speaking countries. As he explained to Pericot, he had also sent it to "members of Conseil Permanent in Ireland, and to Leakey, Goodwin and Fagg in Africa, Hencken and Braidwood in America". Moreover, he sent "the paper also to Vogt, and to Bøe and the other members of the Comité for their information" (FP- 29-7-1951).

The Executive Committee met in Nancy (France) in October. It was chaired by Luis Pericot (FP- Albareda 4-9-1951) who, given the circumstances, was elected as a member of the Executive Committee at the meeting (Pericot 1951b). The initial deliberations focused on the committee's own regulations and the modifications to the general regulations of the CISPP that its creation had made necessary. Secondly, several international projects, some of which had already been mentioned – and opposed by some – in Zurich, were also decided on: a bibliography, a dictionary of archaeological terms and a system of cards recording archaeological objects [i.e. Inventaria Archaeologica], as well as the setting up of an international commission on prehistoric art. Consideration was also given to Bosch Gimpera's proposal to integrate the CISPP into UNESCO through the International Council of Philosophy and Human Sciences (CIPSH after its French name), a discussion that was based on a document that Hawkes had prepared (as Bosch was not a member of the executive, his proposal had to be defended by someone else). Pericot had already seen it, as is made clear in his letter to Hawkes of 9 August 1951:

> Your paper is very good. I agree totally to it. I don't see how can be refused. We must find the way to do at least something of what you propose. If we could start some of these ideas we should transform a friends' meeting in something really useful to all. Knowing we have the support of the British members and of many others I believe the resistances could be overlooked. I think my colleagues in Spain agree with your plans; for Mr Sta Olalla I don't know; Mr Almagro is against all cooperation with the Unesco and told me that I was treating to be a *traitor* to the Congress. But as he is always in the *opposition* when he is not in power, I don't care too much for it. (BOD-Hawkes, Box 59AB-60, 9-8-1951, emphasis in the original)

The affiliation of the CISPP with UNESCO through the CIPSH would not be easy, as it had opponents in both the CISPP and the CIPSH. From inside the CISPP it was opposed by Vogt and Bøe. In the CIPSH, the anthropologists headed by the Frenchman, Paul Rivet, also resisted the inclusion of archaeologists. Laet later argued that the anthropologists were trying to revert to the interwar period proposing that the CISPP

amalgamate with the UISAE, i.e. the CISAE would then become a union under the name of UISAE (Laet 1970: 1438). The leading group within the CISPP was not happy with the anthropologists' proposal and pushed ahead with an independent integration of prehistoric archaeology within the CIPSH. The agreement by the CISPP to join the CIPSH was made, as we have seen, at the CISPP Permanent Council meeting in Namur on 18 April 1952. However, the timing proved not to be right. A change to an earlier date for the CIPSH meeting meant that both were to be held at the same time (FP- Hawkes, 23-12-1951), meaning that the decision taken in Namur could not be communicated to the CISPH in time. Despite this, the Namur meeting would help to placate one of the opponents, Vogt, who was replaced by Sigfried de Laet as the CP General Secretary (Laet 1970: 1432). Nonetheless, at the meeting Bøe must have made some comments denouncing the unwillingness of the CIPSH to admit the CISPP. This led to Bosch, as head of the CIPSH, to write a two-page letter denying this, stating that if the Council of Pre- and Protohistoric Sciences wished to join the CIPSH, it had to present the required documentation (FP- Bosch Gimpera, classified under UNESCO, 15-4-1952). The documentation was sent through Bosch Gimpera on 11 July 1952 (FP- CIPSH 12-7-1952, 24-9-1952).

The next mention of the affiliation of the CISPP to UNESCO in the Pericot Archive is the letter from the CIPSH to Pericot, in his role as President of the CISPP, confirming that the request for affiliation had been well received. However, he was also informed that unfortunately the CIPSH was revising its constitution and therefore it was impossible to reach a firm agreement. In any case, the CISPP received an invitation to attend the next General Assembly as an observer (FP- CIPSH 13-10-1953). Pericot did not attend and Bosch explained to him later what had taken place at the CIPSH meeting: the French anthropologist Paul Rivet had opposed the integration of the CISPP in the CIPSH. The French mediaeval historian Fawtier, the CIPSH secretary, had also required documentation that confirmed that the CISPP was indeed an association. Huzayyin and Bosch had tried to save the situation, but to no avail (Gracia Alonso et al. 2002: letter 156 dated 24-2-1952). Pericot was approached by the CIPSH suggesting that the CISPP invite its General Secretary, Professor Ronald Syme, to Madrid in 1954 (FP- CIPSH 2-2-1954) and a letter was duly sent (FP- Syme 28-3-1954). After the congress he contacted Pericot saying that "writing from Paris, I am happy to inform you that this week the Bureau of the CIPSH decided to propose at the next General Assembly (October 1955) that the Congress of Prehistorians and

Protohistorians should be admitted to membership" (FP- 24-6-1954). However, it would not be that easy. Much negotiation was still needed to achieve the integration, mainly because the anthropologists, led by Rivet, still maintained their opposition (see Gracia Alonso 2009: 444-451). The affiliation of the CISPP to the CIPSH was finally accepted by the latter at its Third General Assembly in September 1955. The CISPP had to pay a price: substituting 'Congress' for 'Union' in its name. This was approved by the Permanent Council of the CISPP in Lund on 8 July 1956. The CISPP was, in a way, lucky. After its affiliation, the CIPSH closed its doors to other institutions, a decision taken in meetings in Hamburg on 25-30 August 1958 and Zaragoza on 11 Sept 1964 (Laet 1970: 1430).

The Permanent Council meeting in Namur (1952) had also been a success for Pericot on a different level. As Hawkes told him afterwards: "My felicitations [sic, i.e. congratulations] on our successful session" (FP- 17-4-1952), and "I congratulate you on the success of Namur, which was a *personal* success for *you*!" (FP- 29-4-1952). It seems that Hawkes was not only referring to Pericot's achievement regarding UNESCO, but also to his victory over Santa-Olalla, who had wanted to be elected to the Permanent Council instead of Pericot's ally, Almagro (Laet 1970: 1431). Santa-Olalla must have complained to Childe about his failure, but Childe answered that he was sorry and that he, Hawkes and Keller-Tarnuzzer had voted for him instead for Almagro, not because they did not like Almagro, but because they did not think that it was right that the three members from Spain came from Catalonia. However, he added that "on the other hand one must say that you are not known personally to the other members; as far as I know you have never taken part in a Congress session nor have you read any paper. Even men of science are predisposed in favour of those whom they have seen or heard! Naturally, after Madrid everything will be put right" (MuM-O ASO/28-78, 30-4-1952, French original, my translation). For his part, Hawkes wrote to Pericot

> I have thought much of you, and of the difficulties that may come to the Spanish Committee of Organization through the disappointment of Sta. Olalla, at the election of Namur. It was a hard choice: you showed us that all the Spaniards present were entirely impartial, and it was a free vote.Childe and I both voted for S.-O. and I still think that politically and even if only on short-term considerations too - this would have been the right choice for the majority.But Almagro was justly rewarded for his zeal in promoting collaboration and hospitality to international circles, so that many think of him—as of you—as a keen, co-operative man: he has done so much for this, and it is natural and proper that the rest of Europe should show this appreciation of him in consequence. S.-O.'s refusal to come to

> other Congresses—Zürich and also Florence [I International Congress of Mediterranean Prehistory and Protohistory]—has in my view been a great mistake for his own interests.But I do hope you will still have all possible success, you and the good Beltran, in organizing the Congress—your great task! (FP- 29-4-1952)

Having failed in his attempt to become a member of the Permanent Council, Santa-Olalla then tried to organise, through the CGEA, the General Commissariat of Archaeological Excavations (the office he headed that controlled all archaeological fieldwork in Spain (Díaz-Andreu and Ramírez Sánchez 2004)), an international congress to be held in Granada from 15-30 September 1953, i.e. six months before the CISPP. He had promised "to show burial caves and a village of Bronce Medit. I, with stratification, also an Argar village and necropolis 'de una sola epoca' [of a single period], and a stratified town dated in the Iron Age" (FP-Smith 4-5-1953). He was referring to El Cerro de La Encina in Monachil (Granada) (Aranda Jiménez and Molina González 2005: 169; Presedo 1955). Hawkes was going to be in the USA and, therefore, would be unable to attend. However, the news of stratified evidence had raised the immediate attention of Hawkes' assistant, Margaret Smith, who wondered whether someone could send a report so that they could "decide whether the Leisners' interpretation of the early metal-using period is anything more than a hypothesis" (FP- Smith 4-5-1953).

The fourth CISPP meeting in Madrid and its aftermath

In his review of the international events that had taken place in 1952-54, the American archaeologist Lauriston Ward stated that: "The year 1954 has been marked by the meeting of the Fourth International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences, in April at Madrid" (Ward 1955: 81). He mentioned that two hundred and fifty delegates from thirty countries had attended (although the figures given elsewhere are of five hundred delegates from 51 countries (Nenquin and Bourgeois 2003)!). In his opinion they "did more to advance archaeological work and to cement friendly relations and cooperation between archaeologists than any other event in the past few years" (Ward 1955: 81). In tune with the political acceptance of the Francoist regime by the Western powers, no negative comment was made about the fact that the congress had taken place in a country ruled by a right-wing dictatorship.

Among the British professors attending the IV CISPP in Madrid were Hawkes (Fig. 6.13), Clark, Childe and Piggott. The three first gave papers[23], but only Hawkes published in the proceedings (Hawkes 1956). In addition to him there were other scholars connected to Oxford who handed in articles (Case 1956; Cowen 1956; Smith 1956), as well as the scholar who had substituted Hawkes at the British Museum (Brailsford 1956). There was also a contribution from the Scilly Isles by O'Neil, who was working for the Ministry of Works in London (O'Neil 1956). The others listed as attending the congress were Ilid E. Anthony; Antony John Arkell; Richard John Atkinson; Beatrice Blance; Miles Burkitt; Jay J. Butler; D.A.J. Buxton; Diana Dent; Henri Frankfort; Roy Gilyard-Beer; W. E. Griffiths; Alexander Hogg; Martin Sinclair Hood; Brian K. Hope-Taylor; Marion Jennings; Lise Bayer; Kenneth P. Oakley; A. G. Donovan; T.G.E. Powell; Walker Starkie; K.A. Steer; Robert B.K. Stevenson and Ronald Syme (Beltrán 1956: xlix-l). John Myres had died on 6 March 1954, a month before the CISPP meeting in Madrid.

After the congress, many delegates sent notes to Pericot congratulating him. Hawkes commented

> How I hope, that after the Congress you have been able to take a good descanso [rest]! The Academic work and labours of these last weeks since we parted may have been a heavy burden to you, together with the fatigues inevitable after the intense mental and physical and psychological strain that you went through – Always smiling, always gay, cheerful, confident, yet really bearing a terrible weight of responsibility, anxiety, suffering --- truly you were a happy martyr for our cause and faith! And I assure you, as many others will have assured you, the spontaneous admiration and affection and respect of all the Congress for you its President was universal and sincere. It was a *grand success!* The feeling of *cordial solidarity* was *far stronger* than at *any previous Congress*, and this we owe, in great measure, to the superb ambience with which you and all Spain surrounded us. Thank you a thousand times. You have done a wonderful job. And we *did* all enjoy it so much! (FP- 30-6-1954)

[23] Clark spoke on "The working of deer and reindeer antler in Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic times" and Childe on "Burnish-decorated ware in Spain, hither Asia and the Balkans". The following also gave papers, although they were not published in the proceedings: Terence G. E. Powell "The megalithic tomb of Barclodial y Gawres and its mural art"; Richard Atkinson "Recent work at Stonehenge"; J. Arkell "Early incised pottery of the Nile valley" and K.P. Oakley "Recent Research on the dating of fossil hominidae". The Swedish archaeologist, Birger Nerman, spoke on "The Sutton Hoo ship, Suffolk, England, who was the King?".

Figure 6.13. Christopher Hawkes at a restaurant in Segovia during the IV CISPP in Spain. Margaret Smith is in the foreground.

Childe was more laconic. He sent a postcard of the stone circle of Stennes, saying: 'I've been looking - in vain - for walls round Maes Howe – our finest passage grave. Hope you are recovered from the Congress. All the best" (FP- 10-8-1954).

After the IV CISPP in Madrid, there is a logical decrease in the number of letters mentioning the congress in the Pericot Archive. Much of the correspondence was signed by the new secretary of the association, the Belgian archaeologist Sigfried Jan de Laet (Laet 1989: 130-5). Pericot continued to be active in the CISPP, mainly as member of the Executive Committee and Permanent Council. In these roles he attended many more meetings (see Figure 6.7), including one in Oxford on 13-15 July 1955, although he could not join the air excursion paid for by the British Academy (FP- CISPP 4-1-1955, Hawkes 20-6-1955), and organized one in Barcelona on 4-5 August 1957. On that occasion, he received a group consisting of Arbman, Bersu, Blanc, Bøe, Hawkes, de Laet, Mariën, Vaufrey and Vogt, as well as some past and current congress secretaries: Guyan, Beltrán and Dehn (FP- de Laet 25-3-1957). It seems, therefore, that although for a while it appeared that the dates of this meeting were

going to clash with those of the Pan-African congress in Livingstone, Rhodesia (today's Zambia) – something that affected not only Pericot but also Blanc and Vaufrey (FP- Hawkes 5-2-1955), the dates of the Livingstone conference were later changed, as Pericot was able to attend both (FP- J. Desmond Clark 9-11-1955).

Pericot, unlike Hawkes with Inventaria Archaeologica and the dictionary of archaeological terms, does not seem to have engaged in any of the tasks set up by the CISPP-UISPP. Hawkes' (and Margaret Smith's) role in Inventaria Archaeologica was undertaken in Spain by Almagro Basch (Almagro 1958; 1960; 1962; 1967). The dictionary of prehistoric terminology did not include Spanish and the first person who mentioned it after Hawkes, was Clarence van Riet Lowe, who was then working for the Archaeological Survey of the University of Johannesburg. In October 1952 he enquired about it and about how it was going to be organised. Riet Lowe thought that "It would be most useful to have a standard and authoritative work of this sort, but I frankly feel that Spanish should be included" (FP- 3-10-1952). Mariën was responsible for reporting on it in the late 1950s (FP- de Laet 29-12-1958), but this task was soon being managed by Prof. Konrad Jazdzewski (FP- de Laet 6-6-1961). Another task that the UISPP seems to have organised at a later stage was the spectral analysis led by Hawkes (FP- Laet 29-12-1958). Moreover, the UISPP promoted a bibliography of the age of retouched lithics (bibliographie de l'âge de la pierre taillé), of which Vaufrey was in charge, as well as an archaeological atlas led by Antoniewicz. In addition, there were other regional committees (FP- de Laet 29-12-1958). Despite the relative weakness of his engagement with the CISPP, Pericot went to most meetings and published short notes about them on a couple of occasions (Pericot 1951b; 1967b).

Other matters

Professional matters

Apart from the references to the International Course of Ampurias and the CISPP, the exchange of information about professional matters was rare in the letters between Hawkes and Pericot; however, some miscellaneous issues can be highlighted. There were some comments about chronology, method, information about grants received, congresses organised and attended and the institutional negotiations Hawkes had in Oxford.

Before radiocarbon dating became sufficiently reliable and common, one of the major debates in archaeology was that of long versus short chronology. Pericot seems to have been in favour of the long chronology. There was a debate in *Man* about this to which Pericot was encouraged to contribute. The date of 2500 BC given by Pericot for the start of Los Millares (Pericot 1950c: 196-7) led Hawkes to complain:

> I agree with Leisner, and with Daniel and Powell in the Proceedings of the Prehist. Society 1949, that 2500 seems probably *too* early; Leisner has suggested 2200, and Daniel doubts much before 2000, which is of course the Santa Olalla date. Somewhere in the vicinity, for me, is the true beginnings of Los Millares; and if then Childe is right in thinking of a total time-span of 500 years maximum for the Vasos Campaniformes [Bell Beakers], then they could well start in Spain 2100/2000, and end in Britain 1600/1500. (FP- 13-7-1950)

Many years later, Hawkes rightly criticised Pericot for not including scales in the photographs of archaeological material, for example in Pericot (1965b) (FP- 8-5-1965).

Regarding their exchange of publications, Hawkes sent Pericot an offprint of "the article I did in America, on the theory and method of archaeology and especially the old 'history/science antithesis,' which we must make a Synthesis!" (FP- 30-6-1954), referring to his "Archaeological Theory and Method: Some Suggestions from the Old World" (Hawkes 1954). He indicated that he hoped Pericot would take "it as some small sequel to your own "Grandeza y Miseria de la Prehistoria" [(Pericot 1948b)]----- which I always much admire" (ibidem). This comment seems surprising. The publication that Hawkes referred to was the printout of the discourse that Pericot had given for his official entry into the Royal Academy of Letters of Barcelona [Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona] in 1948. The discourse had four major parts and it is only the third that came close in content to Hawkes' article[24]. In it, the Barcelona professor

[24] In the discourse for his official entry into the Royal Academy of Letters of Barcelona in 1948, Pericot had started by justifying the need to study prehistory and its independence from ethnology. He then sketched the present state of knowledge of human evolution, Palaeolithic, Neolithic and later prehistoric periods in Europe and the advantages archaeology brought to the study of the Great European and Near Eastern Civilisations from Mesopotamia to Greece. He finished this section by talking about other advances regarding the knowledge of the human colonisation of America. The second part of his discourse dealt with the help received from other sciences in the reconstruction of human prehistory:

discussed prehistoric archaeologists' intention of going beyond "what our Russian [!] colleagues scornfully call *veschedvedenniya*, relicology[reliquiología (sic!)]" (Pericot 1948b: 30). He argued that the study of objects was not enough, and that the thoughtless classification of groups of elements of material culture into cultures only created confusion: "In the last few years English authors, who are now the leaders in research [at an international level], have indicated the value of Prehistory, and Archaeology in general, as social sciences and for education" (ibidem). However, there were problems. As he put it:

> We recover tools and pots, and not all of them, for many made in wood and fibres have long disappeared. Yet all this only fulfilled a secondary role in the life of the primitives, of primitive man [sic]. What do we know about social and political organisation and about their religion? We would like to know how they married, what the property regime was, how they educated their children, what type of rulers they had, their gods and their ideas about the afterlife, but all of that is beyond us. We only have broken pots and a few worked stones… (Pericot 1948b: 31-32).

In addition, Pericot argued, other problems of prehistory included the fact that interpretations were still based on scant data and that the institutional organisation was not yet ready to coordinate the recovery of the data and its proper curation.

Hawkes also provided some information about his own research, commenting on a grant he had applied for:

> I am engaged chiefly still with British prehistory, but am asking for a subsidy of good money, so that I can again travel and do Continental work: urnfields, tumuli, Etruscans, Ambroligurians, Celts: all are too expensive to study in their homes, so far from my home! In May, I shall know if I receive this money. (FP- 3-3-1955).

His application was successful:

> I have received a grant of money, and permission to be absent from the University for 2 terms in 1956, in order to study the relations of the Mediterranean lands with Central Europe and the West, 1400 to 400 antes

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geology, climatology through studies such as palynology and faunal analysis, physical anthropology and geochronology. After a third part described in the main text of the chapter, in the last major section he talked about three current subjects of debate in Spanish archaeology, all illustrated with examples from the Valencian Country and Catalonia: the Solutrean and Parpalló, the megalithic period and the Iberian culture.

> de J.C. (BBC) Urnfields, Indo-Europeans, the Celtic grandfathers of the ladies of Tarrasa, Hallstatt and the Greeks, Etruria and the gotas de sebo de la [i.e. the swords and daggers of] Ria de Huelva; the Ambro-ligurians and the Thraco-Cimmerians: in September I go to Austria, in January to Italy. (FP- 20-6-1955)

Occasionally Hawkes provided Pericot with information about British institutions dealing with archaeology. He seems to have been very busy during term time. In 1949 he mentioned to Pericot the annual Summer Meeting of the Archaeological Institute in the east of England at Norwich that had just been held and the following Prehistoric Society meeting at Exeter in September (FP- 8-8-1949).In 1951, Hawkes invited Pericot to give a lecture "to my [sic] Prehistoric Society … It would be a wonderful pleasure and honour for me, to be President on this occasion" (FP- 24-7-1951).

Years later, Hawkes also briefly explained about his negotiations to create the Institute of Archaeology in Oxford:

> I am in much distress, that I have not myself been able to come up to London for all this, and to see you. It is a case of Grandeza (for *you*) y Miseria (for *me!*) [Hawkes was playing with words, echoing Pericot's discourse of 1948]. The fact is, that in Oxford we have these weeks of intensive academic-political negotiations, and the future constitution of Prehistory, Archaeology, Anthropology, and Museums, within the University. There are always committees, meetings, correspondences, private conversations, and writing of administrative or 'political' memoranda! I am in the midst of this, and am more or less imprisoned in Oxford by it at present. Please excuse me for this disgraceful salvation, and for my apparent neglect of your visit! I regret it bitterly. (FP- 25-2-1960)

Until then, Hawkes had sat on a faculty board of anthropology and archaeology. He taught on European and Roman archaeology, some early prehistory and also some European Historical Geography (Hawkes 1987: 4). However, he longed to create an institute similar to that of London (ibidem: 3). Three years earlier he had managed to get for himself and the professor of the Archaeology of the Roman Empire, Ian Richmond, the second floor of the two houses in Beaumont Street, nos. 34-35 (no. 36 was bought in 1962). They shared the building, at first with the Department of Oriental Studies and its Library on the ground level and, soon afterwards, with the Department of History of Art (Hawkes 2007: 157). Despite the fact that the Institute of Archaeology at Oxford had formally come into being in October 1961 (Hawkes 1987: 3), Hawkes may have felt the need

to negotiate further, although none of the publications on the history of the Oxford Institute of Archaeology seem to record anything particular in 1965, the year[25] in which Hawkes announced to Pericot the end of the road in the negotiations:

> Now this evening, and long contest is ended here ---- ended for the present, anyhow --- of the Prehistorians and Ethnologists and Anthropologists of Oxford against the University administration: for a new museum, new buildings, new facilities for the students, all things new. Today we had our critical confrontation with the Vice-Chancellor and his Committee. We don't yet know what they have decided about us. We only know that they must have decided *something*; and that we, for our part, *can at present* do no more. In the place of all eagerness and anxiety, a blank: a void. (FP- 8-5-1965)

He did not manage, however, to establish a UG honours degree. He himself had assured in his inaugural lecture that it seemed impossible to envisage that the university would set up an Honours School of Archaeology (Hawkes 1948: 4). Only his successor, Prof. Barry Cunliffe, would succeed in this many years later in 1992. However, Hawkes had other achievements, such as the organisation of the Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art in 1969.

Personal matters

The comments that Hawkes and Pericot occasionally made to each other about personal matters in their letters seem to indicate a certain degree of sincere comradeship between them. In 1933, Hawkes had married the young Jacquetta Hopkins, a student of archaeology and later an archaeological writer and populariser (Finn in Oxford DNB 2004-). Their marriage ended in divorce in 1953. He announced his separation from Jacquetta in a letter after talking about other things:

> And now, dear friend, I have a sad thing to tell you: my beautiful wife has deserted me, and will live with another man. Already in January she left me, and after 20 years happily married, I must divorce her. We remain faithful parents to Nicolas (this year 16), but our life of love is ended, and I feel very solitary. (FP- 10-3-1953)

Six years later he revealed: "I am now *fiancé*". His new love was Sonia Chadwick, also an archaeologist, whose interest lay in Anglo-Saxon

[25] Although the date in the letter is not very clear, Hawkes mentions a book that was published in 1965 (VVAA 1965).

studies (Hawkes 2002; Henig and Smith 2007). Hawkes continued in his letter: "Sonia is a young and beautiful archaeologist, and you must come to Amersfoort [to the meeting of the CISPP Executive Committee on 22 March 1959] to see her!" (FP- 8-1-1959). They were married a few days later. Before he met Pericot again, he announced his marriage: "Please give my kind regards to your family, and to the matrimonio Arribas. I count them among my sources of inspiration towards my resolve to make once more the happiness of archaeological matrimony. – Sonia and I were married at the end of January, and now I shall bring her to Amersfoort to meet you" (FP- 8-3-1959). However Pericot, as noted above, did not completely cut off his links with Christopher Hawkes' first wife, Jacquetta. He was contacted by Guy S. Métraux, the editor of UNESCO's Cultures, who asked him to review Volume I of the UNESCO history that she had partly written, which he did (FP- UNESCO 21-8-1957, 8-1-1958, Hawkes and Woolley 1963)[26]. In 1960, he invited Jacquetta Priestley to attend his lecture at the Institute of Archaeology in London and to go to a party at the St. George's Gallery. He also asked her whether a short article could be published in *The Observer* (FP- 12-2-1960).

Hawkes enquired about the Chair of Prehistory in Barcelona (FP- 3-3-1955) that in the end went to Pericot in 1955 (as explained in Chapter 2, for personal reasons Pericot had moved to Valencia in 1927 to a chair of Modern History, a decision that marked his professional life for the following two decades). Hawkes, either personally or through his assistant, Margaret Smith, also congratulated Pericot on the birth of his grandchildren (FP- Smith 12-11-1953, Hawkes 20-5-1955). Pericot told him about his wife's illness, but assured him she was recovering (BOD-Hawkes, 13-8-1965). However, three years later Hawkes wrote to offer his condolences after María Teresa's death (FP- 4-4-1968).

[26] Guy S. Métraux approached Pericot on Joaquín Pérez Villanueva's recommendation. He was the Minister for Universities (Director General de Enseñanza Universitaria) in the Ministry of National Education. He supported Pericot through the CSIC. Pérez Villanueva, for example, was key to the success of the coup de grâce that led to the end of Santa-Olalla's General Commissariat of Archaeological Excavations (CGEA) (he convinced the Minister of National Education, Joaquín Ruiz-Giménez, that abolishing the CGEA was the right thing to do) (Gracia pers. comm. 22 August 2008, for the abolition of the CGEA see Díaz-Andreu and Ramírez Sánchez 2004: 122).

Conclusions

Pericot's contacts with Oxford were not as numerous as those with London and Cambridge. He was in touch with Oxford scholars, however, from his first visit to England at Christmas 1926, when he met the Ashmolean Keeper, E.T. Leeds. Pericot visited Leeds because he was still trying to develop his research on the Atlantic area of Spain, in Galicia. When he moved to Valencia six months later, in June 1927, the reasons for maintaining this friendship became less apparent and this seems to be reflected in the break in communication between them (although, as explained above, the archive is not complete for the years before the Spanish Civil War). At the time, Pericot would have been keen to establish contacts with Palaeolith experts to discuss his findings in Parpalló, but there simply were none in Oxford, at least working in an academic institution such as the university or a museum, until years later. Research at the Pitt Rivers centred on ethnology (Gosden et al. 2007); in the Ashmolean the earliest period that attracted Leeds' attention was the Neolithic (Harden 1956: xiv-xv) and the university hosted teaching either in anthropology (a diploma, including some prehistoric archaeology, was taught from 1905) (Bar-Yosef and Callander 2004: 383; MacEnroe 1995: 8) or in classical archaeology, including prehistoric Greece taught by John Myres (Champion 2009). In addition to Leeds, Pericot must also have met John Myres, although they never became close. The letters sent by him or on his behalf were all connected to the international congress of anthropologists, the CISAE. Myres and Pericot's former supervisor, Bosch, would also play a central role in the organisation of the congress for prehistoric archaeologists, the CISPP. This was the start of Pericot's international profile, a humble beginning that would not have led anybody at the time to imagine the pivotal role he would play twenty years later.

In contrast to the limited contacts between Pericot and Leeds and Myres, those established after World War II with Christopher Hawkes were key for both. Pericot had been introduced to Hawkes when the latter was working at the British Museum in London. They were approximately the same age (Pericot was six year Hawkes' senior). They seem to have grown closer after Pericot invited Hawkes to participate in the first Ampurias course in 1947. In fact, this invitation was proffered after other candidates whose research was closer to Pericot's – Clark and Garrod – had rejected it. A second invitation in 1950, however, was probably intended for him from the outset, and it was related to Pericot's involvement in the organisation of the IV CISPP in Spain in 1954. Hawkes' attendance at

both Ampurias courses was important for him, as he himself stated in later life (see above). It also led to a string of Oxford students being encouraged to undertake research into Spanish archaeology, starting with Margaret Smith (later Margaret Brown) (Smith 1953) and followed by four other less successful attempts. The only one who finally developed his research on Spanish archaeology ended up doing it under the supervision of a scholar based in London, John D. Evans (see Chapter 5).

As it has become apparent throughout the many sections of this chapter, Pericot and Hawkes met each other in many parts in Europe, mainly in relation to international meetings, and several times in London, but only twice in Oxford in 1951 and 1955. In 1951, Hawkes invited Pericot to go to Oxford and stay with him at Keble College (FP- Hawkes 24-7-1951) and in 1955 to the above mentioned CISPP Executive Committee meeting. In 1951, he also invited him to give a lecture to the Prehistoric Society in London. The lack of talks organised in Oxford may be related, firstly, to the small number of students there (there was no undergraduate degree, not many students were taking the Diploma and also there was only a small number of postgraduates). In this respect, we have to bear in mind that until the end of the 1950s there was no department in which Hawkes could work. His office was in Keble College. The lack of students and a place for them to identify with meant that Hawkes was not able to ensure a good audience in Oxford, whereas he was certain of a good attendance at the Prehistoric Society in London. In fact, it seems that Hawkes encouraged his own students to go there. In 1955, Pericot visited Oxford for the second and final time for a meeting of the CISPP Executive Committee on 13-15 July. Later, at the end of the 1950s, Hawkes moved his office to Beaumont Street and his wife Sonia decorated the various spaces in the 1960s (Hawkes 2007: 158-9). However, by then the frequency of the correspondence between them had diminished (see Fig. 6.4). Pericot seems to have been replaced by someone else as Hawkes' main correspondent in Spain. It is likely that others, such as Almagro and/or Maluquer, became Hawkes' interlocutors in Spain. In any case, if anybody was ever invited to give lectures at Oxford, it was not Pericot.

The correspondence with Myres and Hawkes has been the lead for discussing what may be the strongest contribution of this chapter: the information on international congresses and in particular on the reasons for the emergence of the most important conference for prehistoric archaeology from the 1930s until, perhaps, the 1980s, the CISPP – known from 1956 as the UISPP. Originally, the CISPP had been a project aimed

at renewing and democratising archaeology. It encouraged a variety of undertakings; some were unsuccessful, but others prospered and allowed an international exchange of information on ideas and practices. Hawkes, and to some extent Pericot, were prime movers in the association in the 1950s and 1960s. However, as the composition of the executive committee shows (Fig. 6.11), the CISPP ruling body had little renewal for many years. Consequently, the initial impetus behind the congress became less fresh over time and aged at the same pace as the members of its executive. The crisis of 1986 (Ucko 1987) came at a time when the scholars of the CISPP second generation had already passed away or were enjoying their last years of life, a period not covered by this book.

PART III

INTERNATIONAL GEOGRAPHIES OF KNOWLEDGE

CHAPTER SEVEN

BEYOND CORRESPONDENCE: INTERNATIONAL GEOGRAPHIES OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE

This chapter considers the context of the correspondence in the Pericot Archive examined in Chapters 4 to 6 in the light of the geographies of knowledge. It aims to look at the impact of geography in the production, consumption and circulation of knowledge. The analysis in the following pages will be divided into two major subjects: the geographies of production and reception. The questions to be asked are, on the one hand, whether it matters where archaeological knowledge is produced and whether the archaeologists' locations can influence the content and nature of their scientific production and have an effect on the national and international networks they form. On the other hand, an assessment will be made of the existing conditions and means by which the transmission of knowledge takes place and whether this affects reception. These different approaches will lead us to a discussion about the perception of academic authority and credibility. It will be proposed that an investigation into the geography of science may reveal aspects affecting the development of archaeological knowledge that remain unacknowledged in the histories of our own discipline, mainly the connection between authority and the places and institutions in which hypotheses are formulated.

Producing Geographies

> The proof race is so expensive that only a few people, nations, institutions or professions are able to sustain it, this means that the production of facts and artefacts will not occur everywhere and for free, but will occur only at a restricted places at particular times. (Latour 1987: 179)

It has been argued that geographical location impinges on the production of scientific knowledge. Among the aspects that can be studied, Livingstone includes "the material sites of book production, the circulation

networks through which mass print criss-crosses the globe, … the social spaces of book acquisition [and] the geographies of writing and reading" (Livingstone 2005: 94). The analysis undertaken in this section, however, will explore textual spaces from a different angle. The question that the following pages will endeavour to answer is whether the location of the archaeologists' work-bases (the nation, region and town where they live and the institution for which they work) influences their research interests in a particular geographical area. This enquiry will lead us to examine the publications produced by some of the main figures included in the previous chapters, looking at the geographies they deal with. The study will begin by examining the work produced by Pericot on both Spanish archaeology and that of other parts of the world. This will be followed by an investigation of the work of two of his main correspondents: Gordon Childe and Christopher Hawkes.

Textual spaces in Spanish archaeology

Pericot lived in Barcelona for most of his adult life. For a few years he had to move to other areas of Spain: Santiago de Compostela (1926-27) and Valencia (1927-33). In 1933 he managed to return to Barcelona, the city he had lived in as a student between 1915 and 1925, and there he remained until his death in 1978. His focus on one city contrasts with his fondness for travelling. He was often abroad, at meetings, giving talks and visiting other colleagues in many countries of Western Europe, America (mainly the USA, Mexico and Argentina) and occasionally Africa. Whether or not this was reflected in his publications will be explored in the following pages: which areas within Spain he wrote about and which areas of the world he was interested in. The results of this analysis will allow us to compare the result of his writings with that of others within Spain and also with that of Gordon Childe and Christopher Hawkes, two of his main correspondents in Britain.

Pericot's publications on the archaeology of Spain

Pericot went to Galicia in January 1926 and stayed for only eighteen months. The link between location and publications is clearly shown by his written production: of his eight publications on Galician archaeology, six were written either while he was there or soon after he left (Figs. 7.1a and 7.1b) (Pericot 1926e; 1927a; 1930a; 1933a; Pericot and López Cuevillas 1930; Pericot and Parga 1928). Later, in the 1940s, he also wrote a review of the work of a Galician colleague with whom he had collaborated

with during his Galician period, Cuevillas (Pericot 1947-48d), and, when Cuevillas died in 1958, he published a commemoration of his life (Pericot 1959-60). In addition to these eight publications, in 1975, very late in his life (Pericot 1975c: 43), he provided a brief overview of Galician archaeology in the 1920s. The dates of his publications seem to clearly indicate, therefore, that his concern with Galician archaeology was directly related to his early intention of staying in his chair in Santiago throughout his academic career. Once personal reasons led him to leave his post in Santiago, he also abandoned his interest in the area, not to return to it until exceptional circumstances closely connected to this stay there arose in 1926-7. His decision to move on to another research area was logical; any attempt to continue undertaking research in northwestern Spain would have met with extreme difficulties to say the least. Galicia was simply too far away and too poorly connected, with a thousand kilometres of bad roads from Valencia and Barcelona, the cities where he subsequently lived. It seems reasonable to argue that, had he not moved to Galicia, he would never have published on Galician archaeology.

Pericot also lived in Valencia, although in this case he stayed there for six years, from June 1927 to October 1933. The publication pattern (Figs. 7.1a and 7.1c), however, is different to that of Galicia. Even before he arrived there he had already written three contributions for the *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* on sites in the Valencian Country (Pericot 1925a; 1925b; 1927b). The number of articles increased dramatically once he moved there. It may not be a coincidence that this very remarkable peak in publications in 1928 was related to the creation of the Valencian Service for Prehistoric Research (SIP) the very year he moved to Valencia. The SIP mirrored the Barcelona Service for Archaeological Research (SIA) founded in 1915, where Pericot had worked under Bosch Gimpera's supervision as a student (Gracia Alonso and Cortadella 2007). For the first issue of the *Archivo de Prehistoria Levantina*, the journal published by the SIP, he wrote as many as thirty-six contributions: one major article with the official founder of the SIP and its journal (Pericot and Ballester Tormo 1928) , another with a textile industrialist and amateur archaeologist (Pericot and Ponsell 1928), two shorter ones on his own (Pericot 1928a; 1928b) and thirty-two reviews, thirteen of them on issues related to the Valencian Country. After this effort, however, there is nothing similar in terms of numbers. In obvious contrast to the pattern observed for Galicia, however, his production on Valencian archaeology continued steadily until the end of his life, even after he had left for Barcelona. He regularly published at least one item a year and occasionally more. One of the ways

to account for the difference between Galicia and Valencia is the relative ease of travelling between Barcelona and Valencia, which are only 359 kilometres apart (as opposed to the thousand kilometres to Galicia). However, as will be explained below, this may not be the only reason for such a difference in the number of publications after he moved from Galicia, in contrast to his production on Valencia even after he had moved permanently to Barcelona.

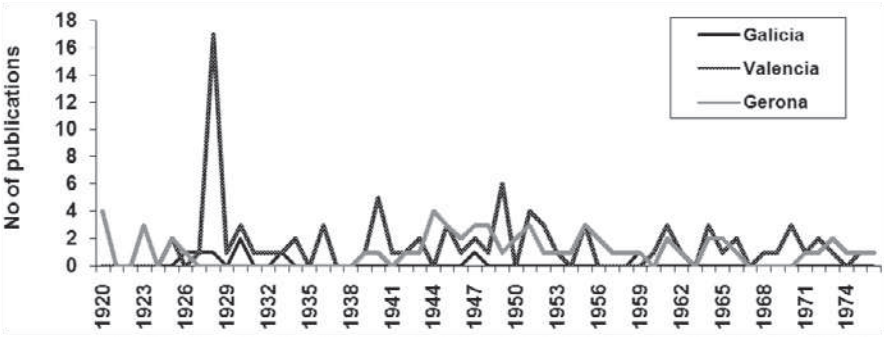


Figure 7.1a. Pericot's publications on the archaeology of Galicia, Valencia and Gerona.

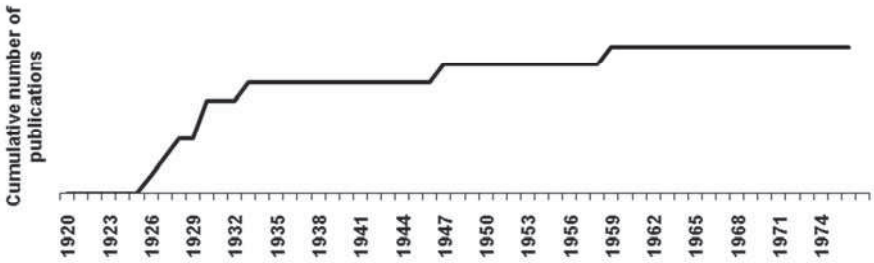


Figure 7.1b. Cumulative graph of Pericot's publications (8 in total) on the archaeology of Galicia (where he held a chair in 1926-7).

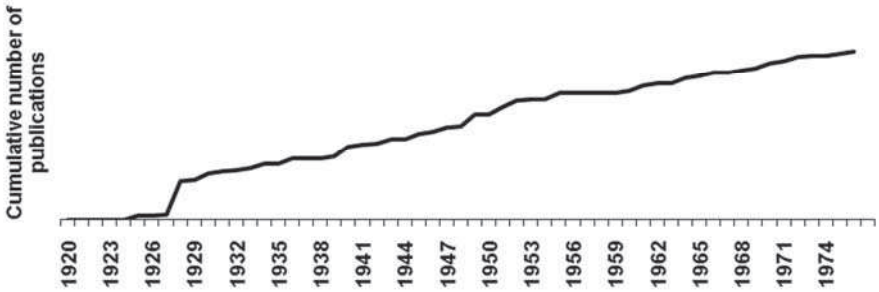


Figure 7.1c. Cumulative graph of Pericot's publications (88 in total) on the archaeology of Valencia (where he held a chair in 1927-33).

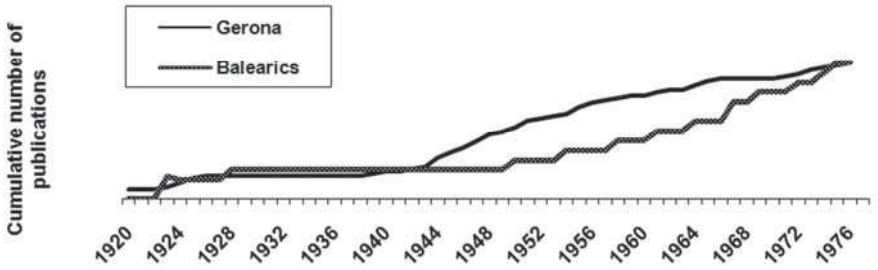


Figure 7.1d. Cumulative graph of Pericot's publications (61 in total) on the archaeology of Gerona (where he was born) and the Balearic Islands.

After seven years in Galicia and Valencia, Pericot moved back to Barcelona in October 1933. He had lived there as a student and young professional from 1915 to 1925 and, after his return in 1933, Barcelona would be his main residence until his death in 1978. Barcelona itself, however, never became a focus of his research. Instead, his publications during those years show that, as regards the archaeology of Spain, Pericot combined his interest in Valencian archaeology with that of other two other areas, Gerona, his birth-place, and the Balearic Islands (mainly Mallorca) (Fig. 7.1d). However, although distance was a factor (Valencia, Gerona and Mallorca are 359, 100 and 194 kms away respectively, contrasting with the one thousand kilometres to Galicia), it cannot be taken as the only one. If it had been, he may have also worked in Zaragoza (in the Aragon region), a distance of only 254 km, which he never did. I would like to argue that it was not the actual, but the perceived geography that led to Pericot's choice of area on which to carry out research and publish. Several factors influenced this perception: cultural-linguistic attachment on the one hand

and personal geography on the other. Concerning the first, a characteristic that unifies the three mentioned areas on which Pericot published – Valencia, Gerona and the Balearics – is that they share the same language. Before the Civil War, especially in Catalonia, but also in the Valencian Country and the Balearic Islands, Catalan was starting to be accepted as the main academic language (in the Valencian Country it was Valencian, a language with strong connections to Catalan). Under the Franco regime, however, the use of Catalan was forbidden, although it continued to be spoken colloquially in everyday contacts and written communications of a personal nature, such as letters. This can be seen in the Pericot Archive, in which Pericot's letters to fellow Catalan-speakers are written in Catalan. The common language of the Balearic Islands, Catalonia and the Valencian Country would have led Pericot to perceive Valencia as being closer to home than Zaragoza, where Catalan is not spoken. In the late 1970s, in an article in homage to Pericot, the archaeologist Miquel Tarradell gave a nationalist reading of Pericot's interest in the Catalan-speaking areas (Tarradell 1978). However, whether Pericot would have agreed with this is a moot point. Other practical considerations should not be forgotten: his interest in the Balearic Islands and Valencia may also have been enhanced by the possibilities offered by the lack of a strong archaeological infrastructure in the former and the facilities available to him in the latter, as one of the founding fathers of the SIP.

A final factor influencing Pericot's choice of the geographical areas about which he wrote was a personal attachment. Pericot never conducted research in any other parts of the Catalan-speaking area, such as Tarragona (98 km), Andorra (196 km) or Perpignan in French Catalonia (194 km). This means that, in addition to geographical distance, cultural-linguistic attachment and opportunism, another factor he considered when selecting the areas on which to work was personal memory. Thus, he published extensively on the province of Gerona, the area from which his family originated and where he had been born and spent his childhood. After his PhD on the megalithic phenomenon in the area, he returned to publish on the subject after the Civil War, offering readers at least one new article, and occasionally as many as four, practically every year (Figs 7.1a and 7.1d). Today, among archaeologists from Gerona (Girona in Catalan), he is still considered as one of the key figures of the city's archaeology after the Civil War (Soler Masferrer 1978 and pers. comm. 2-4-2012).

The comparative analysis of Pericot's publications on the archaeology of Spain during his lifetime shows that the research area he was interested in

was clearly linked to the location in which he was working, as well as to other personal considerations.

Pericot's international publications

The majority of Pericot's publications deal with Spain and account for 62.06% (368 out of 593) of his total output. In the remaining 225 publications he wrote on the archaeology of Eurasia, Africa and America. After Spain, he was mainly concerned with issues relating to the archaeology of Eurasia (152 out of 593 publications, i.e. 25.63% of the total), Africa (51 or 8.60%) and America (22 or 3.71%) (Figs. 7.2a-c). Whereas his interest in Spanish archaeology remained constant throughout his academic life (Fig. 7.2b), that in the other areas came later. He made a few contributions when he became a professor in 1926 and many more when, after Bosch was exiled from Spain, he was left as head of the Barcelona school of archaeology (an unofficial position he shared with the non-Catalan, Almagro Bosch, in the 1940s and 1950s, as seen in Chapters 2 and 3). Pericot's interest in Eurasian archaeology began in 1924 and in African archaeology in 1927. The latter was directly related to his discoveries at the Valencian site of Parpalló and the debate about the relationship between the Solutrean and the North African Capsian, and especially the Aterian (see Chapter 3, section on Parpalló). His publications on American archaeology did not come until later in his life, around the 1950s, although there are three publications dated before the Civil War (probably related to orders received from publishers with whom both Bosch and Pericot were always on good terms).

The key issue to address at this point is whether Pericot's broad range of interests was a normal pattern for archaeologists living in Spain and, in particular, Barcelona. The reply to this question is, however, not straightforward. The fact that he was living in Spain seems to explain why most of his publications dealt with that country. The fact that he lived in Barcelona and, as discussed, his feeling of being Catalan, may also account for his interest in the Catalan-speaking areas. Despite this, a comparison with other archaeologists strongly indicates that the geographical pattern covered in Pericot's publications was not as common as one may think, especially if we look at his relatively low percentage of publications dealing with Spain. Although it would be beyond the possibilities of a work like this to obtain absolute figures for other archaeologists' publications, a cursory comparison with two of his contemporaries born in the same year,1899, shows a clear disparity

between them on one level, but also, as will be seen, apparent similarities. The output of these other archaeologists, Juan de Mata Carriazo and Alberto del Castillo, focused almost exclusively on Spain. This was more marked with Carriazo than with Castillo. The latter had a wider international education, as he had lived in Germany and Italy in the 1920s and during that time had undertaken research on Europe-wide topics such as the Beaker phenomenon (Castillo 1928)[1]. For his part, Carriazo was a disciple of the stubbornly pro-Spanish archaeologist, Gómez-Moreno. This brief comparison demonstrates that, in addition to issues of geography and language, other factors, such as the network a scholar belongs to, influences the focus of their research and the areas it deals with.

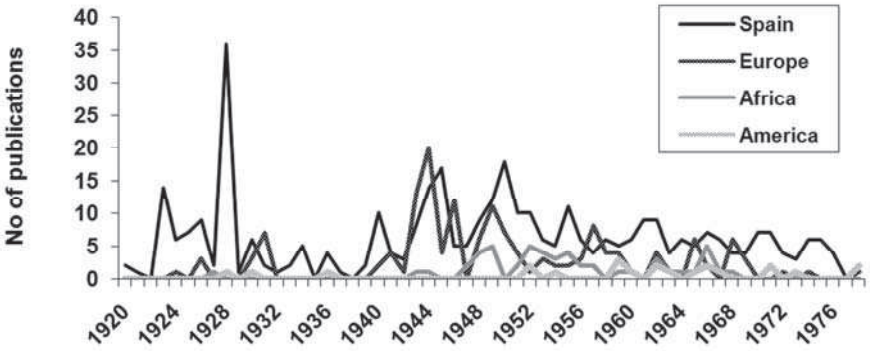


Figure 7.2a. Pericot's publications on the archaeology of Spain, Europe, America and Africa.

[1] After Bosch's exile and Almagro's appearance in Barcelona, Castillo became estranged from the Barcelona school and, although he continued living in Barcelona, he changed his interest to the mediaeval period.

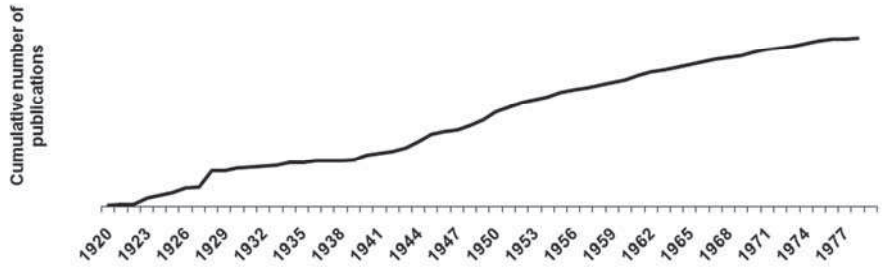


Figure 7.2b. Cumulative graph of Pericot's publications (368 in total) on the archaeology of Spain.

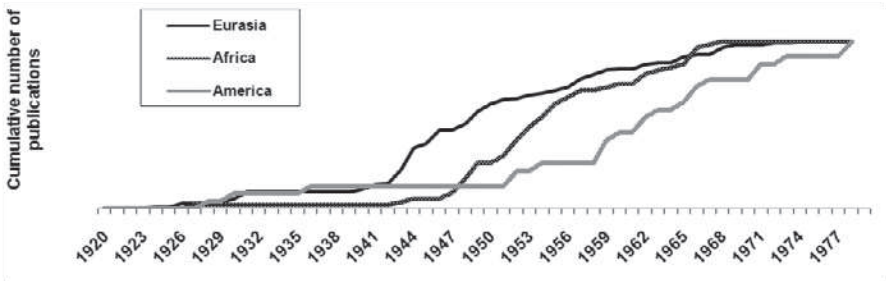


Figure 7.2c. Cumulative graph of Pericot's publications on the archaeology of Eurasia (152 in total), Africa (51 in total) and America (22 in total).

The comparison between Pericot, Carriazo and Castillo, however, can also be read in a different way. Pericot's production becomes closer to that of Carriazo and Castillo only after his research papers are taken into account. Pericot wrote a large number of publications, but these comprised writings of a very different nature, including translations, reviews, prologues, biographies and accounts of events happening elsewhere, i.e. outputs that are not connected with primary research. A different picture emerges if anything but primary research publications are selected from Pericot's list of publications. From the complete list of 593 publications, only about 130 can be generously described as research publications and all without exception are on Spanish archaeology (Fig. 7.2d). Of them, about 39% deal with Catalan archaeology, mostly about Gerona, 30% with archaeology in the Valencian Country and 9% are about Galicia (in addition to 4% that deal with rock art, 5% with Roman archaeology and those that remain on a variety of topics, including the Balearic Islands, although there were books among his few publications on the Islands).

Pericot, therefore, undertook relatively little archaeological work and, more importantly, it was almost exclusively related to Spain. His research interest in North African archaeology was closely connected to his excavations at Parpalló and articles about other parts of Africa, Eurasia and America were only comments on and summaries of other scholars' work. His research interests, therefore, were much narrower than the title of his publications seems to indicate a first glance and mainly referred to Catalan-speaking areas. In this respect, he showed a very similar pattern to all his other colleagues in Spain, most of whom did research in the areas they identified with on a personal level.

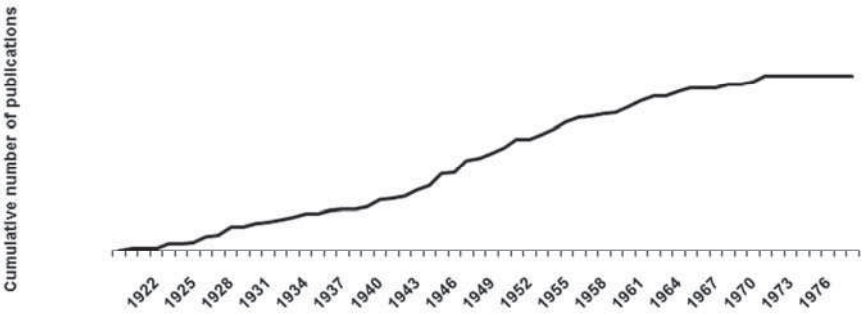


Figure 7.2d. Cumulative graph of Pericot's primary research publications, excluding reviews, prologues and biographies (130 in total). There are no publications dealing exclusively with the archaeology of Eurasia, Africa and America in this category.

Textual spaces in British archaeology

There are too many British archaeologists in this volume for it to be feasible to analyse the written production of each of them. Of all the authors included in the previous chapters, two have been selected for examination: Gordon Childe and Christopher Hawkes. Both studied at Oxford, became professors in their late thirties or early forties and shared a commitment to the CISPP. However, as the study below will show, the nature of the geographical interest of their research was very different. Their research careers and the decisions made in them, as will soon be discussed, were also markedly dissimilar.

Gordon Childe's publications

Childe was a prolific writer and, despite all efforts (Gathercole and Irving 2009), it is likely that further investigation will produce hitherto unknown publications by him. For the analysis below, based on the list of publications compiled in the reference above, reviews have been excluded, and this has resulted in a total of 275 writings. They deal with a wide range of subjects (Fig. 7.3a), which have roughly been subdivided into five broad categories: Eurasian archaeology (excluding the Soviet Union); British archaeology; Soviet archaeology and politically-committed articles; more general publications, together with others that may be included under the heading of Sociology of Science; and finally, articles related to technology and methodology. As the various charts below indicate (Figure 7.3 a-c), he was not equally concerned with all them throughout his life. After a number of years from 1917 to the early 1920s, during which he focused on Australian Labour politics, he returned to the interest in archaeology of his student years. From then on, Childe's emphasis on a particular combination of the research categories listed above clearly marks two major periods in his production: up to and after World War II.

The first period lasted from 1921 until the end of World War II. During this time Childe had three major interests that appeared one after the other about every four to six years. His dedication to Eurasian archaeology had emerged from an interest in prehistoric archaeology in Greece that had led him, as a young graduate student, to move to Oxford to study with John Myres from 1914 to 1917 (Champion 2009). After several years in Australia during which politics absorbed his attention, he returned to archaeology in 1922 and continued with his previous research on Greece and Eastern Europe. His second line of research related to British archaeology and in particular to the archaeology of Scotland. It began around the time he was appointed to the Abercromby chair in 1926 and he moved there in 1927. By the time World War II started, Childe had already written 90% of his publications in both fields, percentages that had increased by the end of the war to 97% and 92% respectively (Fig. 7.3b). During the war he placed more emphasis on a third subject about which he had started to publish in 1931. These were politically-committed articles, including some informative articles on Soviet archaeology (Figs. 7.3b). In fact, however, his interest in Scottish archaeology and his politically-committed articles were not as incompatible as one would at first think, as it has been argued that some of Childe's excavations were politically-motivated and organised in areas of Scotland where jobs were needed,

rather than in places with a greater archaeological potential (Bradley 2004). Childe's politically-committed articles differed from the political publications of the late 1910s and early 1920s, as he was now combining politics and archaeology in his written work. He started in 1931 and by 1939 he had published 37% of his entire production in this category; by 1945 he had reached 93% of the total.

The second of Childe's archaeological periods as regards as the subjects of his publications spans from the end of World War II until his death in 1957. Despite the increasing normalisation of the political situation, Childe did not return to his earlier archaeological interests, at least not from an almost exclusively cultural historical perspective. Without completely dismissing British archaeology, he became focused instead on more general issues and others related to the sociology of science and philosophy, as well as technology and methodology (Fig. 7.3c) (Gathercole 2009; Wailes 1996). This divergence in the focal point of his research is reflected in a sharp contrast in the shapes of the graphs in Figures 7.3b and 7.3c.

In comparison with Pericot, therefore, we can see that although Childe wrote about the country where he was living, the British Isles, and especially about Scottish archaeology during the period he lived in that country (Ralston 2009), he was not as focused as Pericot. Even during his earliest archaeological production period he had had wider interests. His very early interest in Greek archaeology, as well as that of his former supervisor, John Myres, can be understood in the framework of British informal imperialism (de Polignac and Lévin 2006; Díaz-Andreu 2007d: Chapters 4 and 5). Later in his life, his interests changed. His political ideology led him to be interested in Soviet archaeology, although his publications on it are, in a way, similar to Pericot's summaries of American archaeology. They did not deal with primary research, but summarised what others were doing and saying. Later on in Childe's life, while still using British and European archaeology to illustrate his ideas, his increasing interest in philosophy and the sociology of science led him to deal with more general topics. The difference between Pericot and Childe, therefore, may be seen as related to nationalism. Pericot's love for his country pushed him to be interested in his own region of Catalonia (perhaps also understood by him as a nation, although there is nothing more than his interest in the archaeology of the Catalan-speaking areas that points in that direction, see Chapter 3). British nationalism, however, is distinct from Spanish (and Catalan) nationalism in that it has a strong

component of imperialism. Despite being an Australian, Childe's training at Oxford and the development of his career in Britain positioned him very close to what could be expected of a British archaeologist trained in Greek prehistory.

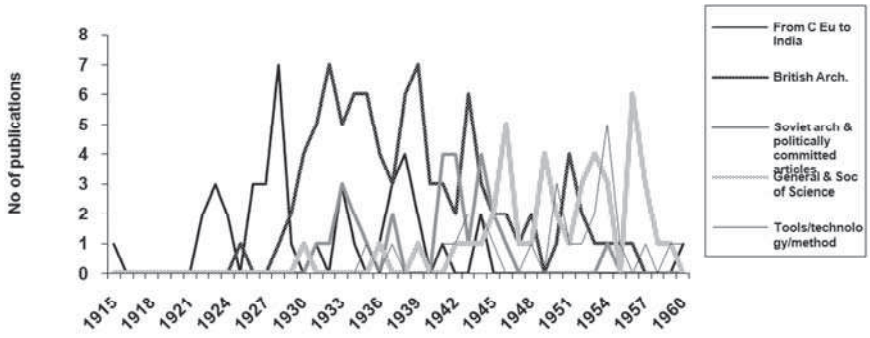


Figure 7.3a. Childe's publications on various subjects. Data from Gathercole and Irving (2009: Sections I and II).

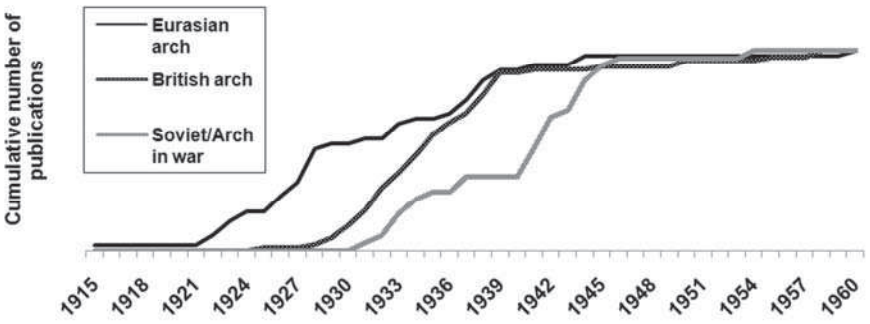


Figure 7.3b. Cumulative graph of Childe's publications on the archaeology of Central Europe to India (41 from 1915), Britain (64 from 1925) and the Soviet Union and politically-committed articles (27 from 1931).

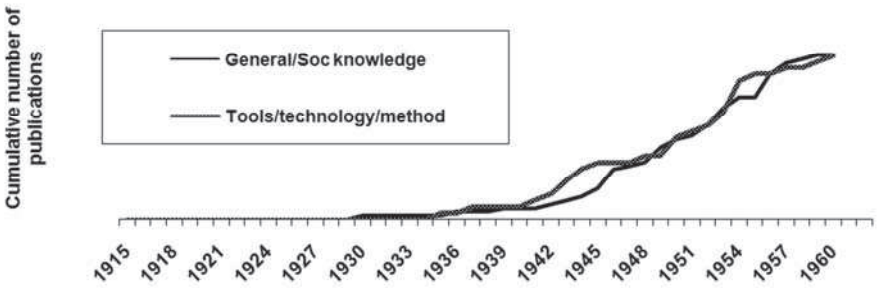


Figure 7.3c. Cumulative graph of Childe's publications on general issues and the sociology of knowledge (43 from 1930) and on technology and methodology (127 from 1931).

Christopher Hawkes' publications

The final case study for textual spaces deals with Christopher Hawkes' production. This is much shorter than the two previous sections, due to the lack of complexity of Hawkes' case. In contrast to both Pericot and Childe, Hawkes' publications were extraordinarily constant throughout his life in terms of the geographical areas within his research interest. Hawkes' personal circumstances, however, had many similarities to Childe's. Like Childe, Hawkes was an Oxford graduate partly supervised by the same scholar, John Myres. Hawkes also moved to London, in his case to the British Museum. After World War II, he gained a chair at Oxford to which he remained professionally attached for the rest of his life. In complete contrast to Childe's example, however, Hawkes' trajectory was even and the analysis of his publications does not show marked research periods similar to those highlighted not only for Childe, but also for Pericot. Throughout his academic life Hawkes maintained a dual interest in, on the one hand, the archaeology of southern Britain, with some emphasis on Oxfordshire following his move to Oxford in 1946, and, on the other hand, in more general European archaeology from which he actually excluded Eastern Europe (Figs. 7.4a and 7.4b). Thus, despite not focusing on such a large geographical area as Childe, in comparison to Pericot, Hawkes' research interests had a much wider geographical scope. Pericot, however, published information on events in archaeology covering three continents, something that neither Childe nor Hawkes ever did.

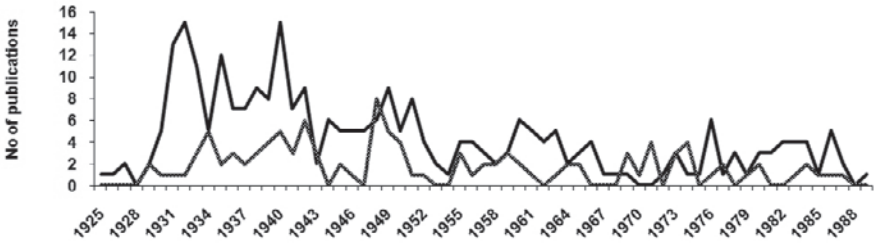


Figure 7.4a. Hawkes' publications. Publications about Britain are shown in a continuous line. Publications about European archaeology are in a dotted line. Data from Bibliography... (1971) with additions.

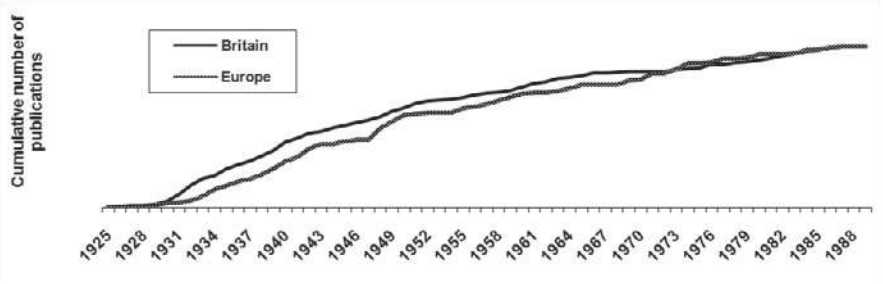


Figure 7.4b. Cumulative graph of Hawkes' publications on the archaeology of Britain (279 in total) and Europe (112 in total).

Geographies of transmission: travelling knowledge

How does knowledge travel from the places of production to those of consumption? In this section this question will be answered through three approaches. The first will appraise the reception of foreign knowledge by looking at the reviews published on the innovations produced by foreign archaeologists. Secondly, reception will also be analysed by surveying translations of academic books. The third approach will be to examine whether there is a connection between international travel and the way it is sponsored.

Reviews and the geography of credibility

The analysis of reviews in British and Spanish archaeology will focus on a critical decade in Pericot's career, the years after the end of World War II, when he published *Primitive Spain** (1950). On the one hand, a study of the journal *Antiquity*, in which many of his British colleagues published, will allow us to look into how British archaeologists perceived the scholarly production of other countries and, specifically, of Spain. On the other hand, a mirror examination will be made on the basis of the reviews written in another academic journal issued in Barcelona, *Ampurias*, to which Pericot frequently contributed.

Between 1946 and 1955, *Antiquity* published 450 reviews. A scrutiny of the language used in the reviewed publications reveals obvious disparities. There was a clear predilection for publications written in English (82%) and dealing with a wide range of areas around the world. An analysis of the remaining reviews – i.e. those whose original language was not English – indicates that consideration was given to publications in French (34.57%), closely followed by German (33.33%). In contrast, publications in Spanish were reviewed only extremely occasionally, to the extent that only two of the reviews were not written in English (2.47%) in the decade under analysis. One of them was on a Palaeolithic topic and had been written by a Spaniard, Francisco Jordá, the person responsible for excavations in the province of Asturias, an area renowned for its Palaeolithic sites. The review's author was Prof. Hallam L. Movius of Harvard University (Movius 1952). The other review was of an article written by Movius himself comparing Spanish and French Palaeolithic sites and cave art (McBurney 1954). Surprisingly, there was an article which was in fact a review, although it was not included in the review section. This was Childe's text on Pericot's *Primitive Spain**. Perhaps the length of Childe's manuscript clearly exceeded what was expected of a review (six pages in the published version) and this led the editor, Crawford, to make an exception and place it in the articles section. In any case, the percentages clearly point to a preference for French and German publications over those from Spain, which can be understood as an indication of their authors being more highly regarded as authoritative sources of information, as opposed to the low standing given to Spanish archaeology.

In Spain the results are to a certain extent similar. From 1945 to 1954[2] *Ampurias* published 313 reviews. As in *Antiquity*, but not as marked, most publications reviewed were originally in the main language of the nation-state, Spanish (47.28% of the total). Of those remaining, the language favoured was, again as in *Antiquity*, French (35.76%). The similarities ended there. Whereas Spanish only represented 2.47% in *Antiquity*, in *Ampurias* the reviews of publications originally written in English amounted to 28.48%. Other languages considered were Italian (13.33%), Portuguese (12.12%), German (8.48%) and others (all Scandinavian languages, 1.82%). Pericot wrote almost a third of all the reviews of publications written in English, but even without his reviews, English would still have been in second position among the foreign languages, after French. However, his influence on this high number was clear, as the publications reviewed by others had been produced by Pericot's friends in England and the writers were young professionals under Almagro's supervision over whom he had some influence (for example Arribas Palau 1953-54; Maluquer de Motes 1947-48; 1949; Palol 1947-48; Tarradell Mateu 1947-48; Trías 1951). An analysis of the total number of reviews published by Pericot in those years, including those for other journals, is revealing. Between 1946 and 1955, 71.05 % of his reviews were of publications not written in Spanish. Of those, 59.26% were originally written in English, 22.22% in French and 7.41% in German. Pericot clearly believed in British and American archaeology and, in contrast to his colleagues, this took precedence over French archaeology.

Translating cultures

An alternative means of looking at the ways by which knowledge is distributed from one national archaeological community to another is to look at translations. An essential condition is needed for a book to be translated: the subject of the book has to be interesting enough to make it attractive to potential buyers in the other country. Publishers' strategies, however, differ from one country to another. In some, such as Britain and the USA, successful titles are printed in large numbers and editions and reprints are rare. Moreover, it is not unusual for publishers from two countries to agree on publishing the same book. Thus, in 1951 Childe's *Man Makes Himself* was printed by Watts in London and the New American Library in the US (Gathercole and Irving 2009). It is difficult to

[2] As some issues of Ampurias were double, i.e. they included two issues at the same time, the years selected for the study of the reviews has changed slightly with respect to those selected for Antiquity.

find this type of arrangement in the Spanish-speaking world where instead the powerful publishers, which are located in Spain, Mexico and Argentina, usually avoid publishing the same titles. Regardless of which of the three countries they live in, buyers and readers can find them all available in libraries and bookshops. Also, in contrast to publishers in English-speaking countries, in the Hispanic world they print a very small number of books and, if the demand warrants it, they issue as many reprints as necessary, confusingly considering each reprint as a new edition.

Looking at the publications of the main archaeologists mentioned in this book, the lack of English translations of Spanish authors seems striking. The only exception is Pericot, who had one book, which was co-authored and originally published in Italian (Pericot et al. 1967), translated into English (Pericot et al. 1969). He also managed to update his book on the archaeology of the Balearic Islands and publish it in the 'Ancient Peoples and Places' series (Pericot 1958a; 1972) (see Chapters 3 and 6). Pericot, however, may have been the exception among his peers in the sense that he wanted to be published in other languages and tried endlessly to have some of his work translated. The correspondence in the Pericot Archive provides many examples of this, and in particular one can mention his many efforts to have his *Primitive Spain** translated into English. In this, he was unsuccessful and it could not have been otherwise: the refusal of the publishers to listen to his pleas was related to the subject of the book, which focused exclusively on Spanish archaeology. Pericot should have realised that English-speaking academia was traditionally both unaware and largely indifferent to developments in Spanish archaeology. The translation of *Primitive Spain** into French (Pericot 1953c) was more understandable, given the geographical proximity of the two countries and the sharing of many of the archaeological and cultural traits, given their common border. Another reason for understanding why Pericot's book was translated into French is the imperial interest of that country's archaeologists in the archaeology of Spain (Díaz-Andreu 2007d: 101; Gran-Aymerich and Gran-Aymerich 1991), which led French practitioners to be aware of and willing to learn more about the new discoveries and debates in Spanish archaeology. In any case, despite the low profile of Pericot's publications in English, his example is almost unique. Few other Spanish archaeologists had books translated, not even those of the standing of Almagro, who does not seem to have had any of his books translated and certainly none into English. Among the exceptions were archaeologists directly influenced by Pericot, such as Ripoll and Arribas, who managed to have their works translated mainly thanks to paths

already trodden by Pericot: Thames and Hudson (Arribas 1964) and the Wenner Gren foundation (Ripoll Perelló 1968a). No books as specific as Pericot's *Primitive Spain** were ever translated into Spanish, with the exception perhaps of Piggott's book on India which was translated by a Mexican publisher (Piggott 1950a; 1966b). The translated books covered subjects ranging from the archaeology of vast areas, such as Europe, the Great Civilisations and the world (Childe, Clark, Piggott), to more philosophical topics (Childe, Clark), methodology (Childe), the history of archaeology (Daniel), and finally to the application of new sciences to archaeology (Zeuner) (see specific references below).

The study of the Spanish translations of books written by the British archaeologists discussed in this volume highlights disparities in terms of the authors chosen to be translated, the number of books translated, the frequency of reprints, and the countries interested in translating particular authors. The most successful was Childe, although he did not live long enough to see it. At least ten of his books saw the light in Spanish, in addition to an article published in Spanish as a book (Childe 1978) and a translation of his article "Retrospect" (Childe 1963). In comparison to the authors discussed below, his example is the most complex to analyse, as these translations were not only made in Spain, but also in Mexico, Argentina and Guatemala. Figure 7.5 displays all the translations and re-editions of books revealed by many hours of trowelling through the catalogues of several major libraries[3]. The delay from the year of publication to the year of translation ranged from two to a staggering twenty-nine years, with an average of 15 years. Among the fastest to be translated were books that could be seen as closer to a traditional account of prehistoric archaeology – despite the fact that many would dispute this description for books such as the *Prehistory of the European Society*. Other more political books would take a bit longer and were mainly translated, to start with, in Argentina. In Mexico, both Fondo de Cultura Económica (FCE) and the UNAM (Autonomous University of Mexico) were the first to publish Childe in Spanish in 1954. The first title selected was *Man Makes Himself* (1936) (strangely given the title *Los orígenes de la civilización*) and then *Piecing together the past* (1956). From 1958 three Argentinean publishers, Leviatán, Galatea and La Pléyade, followed suit with *What Happened in History* (1942); *Society and Knowledge* (1956);

[3] Figure 7.7 is as complete as possible, but it is likely that there are more editions that have escaped the notice of author of this book. Data were gathered from some of the most important universities in Argentina (La Plata, Buenos Aires), Mexico (UNAM) and Spain (UCM, UB), as well as the National Library in Madrid.

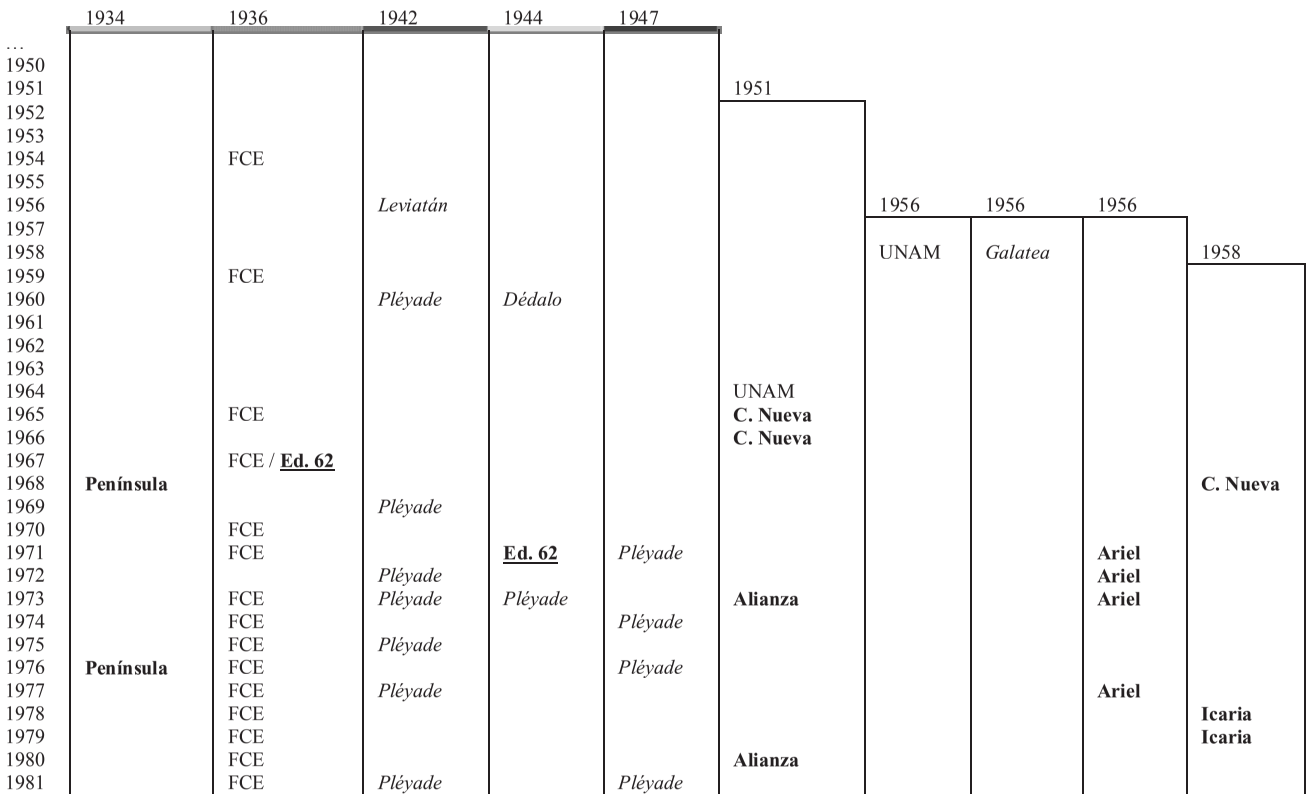
Progress and Archaeology (1944) and *History* (1947). The first of Childe's books to be translated in Spain was, in 1965, *Social Evolution* (1951). Unfortunately the translators were unaware that the book was also being translated in Mexico and as a result the book received two different titles, *Evolución social* in Mexico (UNAM, 1964) and *La evolución de la sociedad* in Spain (Ciencia Nueva, 1965). After 1965 a relaxation of political censorship and then the end of the dictatorship in 1975 made it possible to have more books by Childe translated by a variety of Spanish publishers: Alianza, Altaya, Ariel, Ciencia Nueva, Crítica, Icaria, Península, Planeta-Agostini and Edicions 62, the latter publishing Childe in Catalan. The last book traced for this analysis dates to 2003 (Fig. 7.5).

The large number of reprints of Childe's books in Spanish (Fig. 7.5) seems to indicate that they were frequently used not only by scholars, but also by students, especially in the years from the mid-1960s to the mid-1980s. There is anecdotal evidence that this was the case[4]. It would be wrong, however, to assume that most of Childe's readership was among practitioners of archaeology. This was not the case. A look at a series of integrated catalogues, such as that of the Complutense University of Madrid, where libraries are still separated by faculties, reveals a very different picture. Whereas, as expected, in the Faculty of Geography and History, where archaeology is studied, there are copies of most of Childe's translated titles (10 out of the 11 titles are present in the library, some of them with several copies), many other faculties also have books by Childe. Thus, Geography and History is followed by the Faculty of Politics and Sociology (6 titles), Philosophy (4), Economics and Business (3) and Philology (3), whereas there is only one title each in Journalism, Psychology, Education, Social Services Studies, Fine Arts, Law and Medicine (Fig. 7.7).This may indicate that it was not only Childe the archaeologist who was read, but also Childe the philosopher and political thinker (Díaz-Andreu 1998: 52).

[4] In a speech in homage to the late Prof. Fernández-Miranda given at the Instituto Universitario José Ortega y Gasset on 25 January 1995, Prof. Domingo Plácido explained that he had first heard of Manuel Fernández-Miranda from his students. Plácido and Fernández-Miranda, then in their first academic years of their lectureships, i.e. in the late 1960s or early 1970s, were asking the students to read Childe. Prof. Domingo Plácido wrongly asserted that they had been the first to direct their students to Childe's work, showing that, among the young scholars, the memory of an earlier reception of Childe had already faded (Díaz-Andreu 1998: 61).

Childe was not the only one of Pericot's correspondents whose books were translated into Spanish, although none was as successful: Daniel and Clark had three books translated, Piggott two (one of them edited) and Zeuner another two. With the exception of two books published by the Mexican publisher FCE (Daniel 1987; Piggott 1966b), all the others were translated in Spain (Fig. 7.6). Zeuner's books were issued in the 1950s and never reprinted (Zeuner 1956a; 1959) (about Pericot's possible initial involvement in the translations see Chapter 5). In the 1960s Piggott managed to have two books translated (Piggott 1963; 1966a). Glyn Daniel was published in Spanish in the 1960s and 1970s (Daniel 1968a; 1974) and Grahame Clark's translations date from the early 1980s (Clark 1980; 1981; 1985). As was the case with Childe's books, the largest number of translations and reprints was between the mid-1960s and the mid-1980s.

A final note about translations. In addition to the intrinsic interest in foreign scholarship in the countries where the translated books are read, one should not forget the efforts of particular individuals. These include, on the one hand, people from the receiving countries, such as Pericot in Spain, who tirelessly promoted the diffusion of knowledge produced in other countries and other languages. On the other hand, it can be argued that people in the country of origin may also have a key role to play in translations. In this respect, it would be interesting to examine the impact made by Glyn Daniel, as editor of an archaeology series at Thames and Hudson and of *Antiquity*, on the decisions taken as to who would be translated or not. He was in an excellent position to encourage translations of certain authors and books. It could be argued that he may have had a powerful influence on the large number of translations of books by Childe, although the data to support this theory are yet to be found. At the same time, the late translations of Grahame Clark's oeuvre can take on a different meaning in this light.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1984		FCE				**Alianza**				
1985	**Península**		**Planeta-A**							
1986	**Planeta-A**	FCE		*Leviatán*						
1987										
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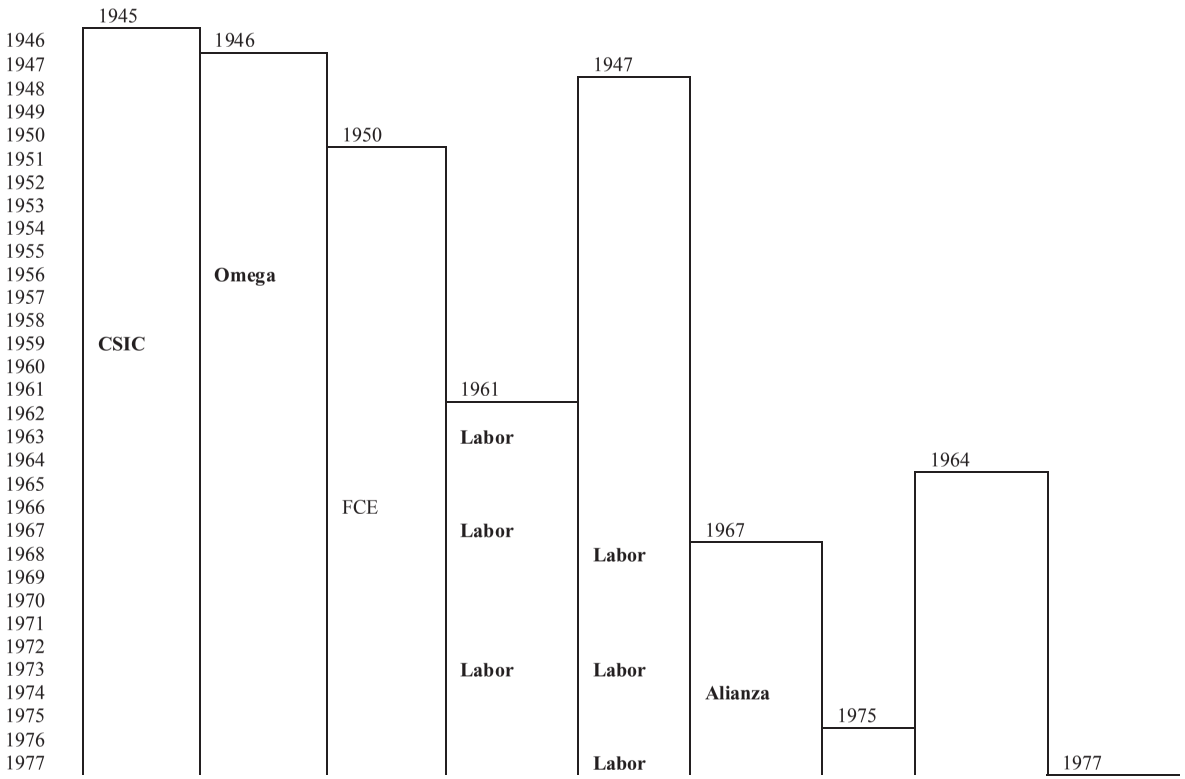
2002			**Crítica**							
2003									**Crítica**	

Figure 7.5. Translations of Childe's books into Spanish by publisher and year. Publishers in bold are from Spain, not bold from Mexico and in italics from Argentina. Books: *New Light on the Most Ancient East* (1934a); *Man Makes Himself* (1936); *What Happened in History* (1942); *Progress and Archaeology* (1944c); *History* (1947); *Social Evolution* (1951b); *Piecing Together the Past* (1956a); *Society and Knowledge* (1956c); *A short introduction to Archaeology* (1956b); and *The Prehistory of European Society* (1958a).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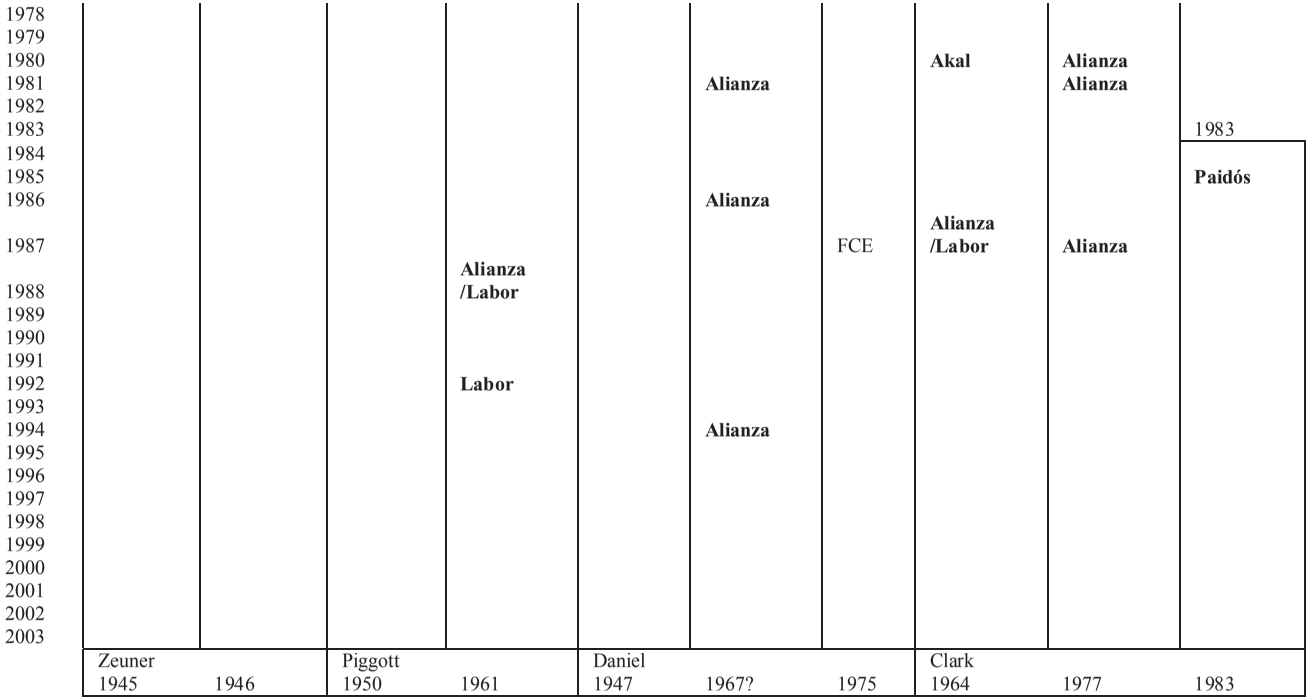

Figure 7.6. Translations of books by Zeuner, Piggott, Daniel and Clark into Spanish by publisher and year. Publishers in bold are from Spain and not bold from Mexico. No books by these authors were translated in Argentina. All known editions are shown.

TRANSLATIONS OF CHILDE'S BOOKS / FACULTY LIBRARIES AT THE COMPLUTENSE UNIVERSITY OF MADRID	New Light in the Most Ancient East	Man Makes Himself	What Happened in History	Progress and Archaeology	History	Social Evolution	Piecing Together the Past	The Prehistory of European Society	A Short Introduction to Archaeology	Prehistoric Discoveries	Archaeology as a Social Science
Geog. and History	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Politics and Sociology	x		x	x	x	x		x			
Philosophy	x	x			x	x					
Economics and Business		x				x		x			
Philology		x				x		x			
Journalism						x			x		
Psychology						x			x		
Education			x					x			
Social Services Studies						x					
Fine Arts		x									
Law						x					
Medicine			x								

Figure 7.7. Faculties at the Complutense University of Madrid whose libraries keep translations of books by Childe.

Travelling cultures

In addition to reviews and translations, a third method of investigating how the knowledge produced by one national archaeological community moves into another is to look at the journeys archaeologists make to other countries. In our case study, this means considering two aspects: firstly,

the number of trips made by both Pericot and his British colleagues to the other country and, secondly, how they were financed.

Of all the major archaeologists included in this book, Pericot did the most travelling, as he visited Britain a total of thirteen times. On the basis of the information obtained from the complete list of correspondents in the Pericot Archive, as well as comments made in the analysed letters, articles and biographical accounts, it seems that Britain was not the only European country Pericot visited often. He also went regularly to France, Germany and, to a lesser degree, Italy. However, if Britain was not exceptional in terms of the frequency of trips Pericot made to other countries, the fact that Britain was on the same level as other Western European countries was in itself exceptional among his peers. Although there has been no proper investigation of the trips made by other comparable archaeologists, such as Martín Almagro and Antonio García Bellido, anecdotal evidence points to Britain as not being as popular as the other Western European countries in their cases and in those of many others. At least three considerations were at the heart of the choices most Spanish archaeologists made with regard to the countries they travelled to: language proficiency, research tradition and prestige. Spanish archaeologists went abroad to learn, to visit sites and/or to participate in conferences. When young, they opted to study with scholars who they could understand (and French and German were then thought of as the international languages in Spain) and whom they deemed the most advanced in their fields: Pericot chose Breuil in France, whereas Almagro and García Bellido selected German archaeologists such as Gero von Merhart and Gehart Rodenwaldt respectively (Díaz-Andreu 1996). However, from very early on (December 1926) Pericot also included Britain in his tours. It does not appear that he wanted to learn with anybody in particular, and indeed he would have had difficulties in finding anyone, especially in either a university or a research institute, who could teach him (he probably knew as much as or more than Burkitt, having been involved in archaeology for nine years under Bosch Gimpera's supervision, and having studied with Breuil in Paris immediately before he went to Britain for the first time). Instead, in Britain Pericot was interested in visiting collections and discussing ideas with those working, like him at the time, on megaliths and the Atlantic region: Tom Kendrick and E.T. Leeds (see Chapters 4 and 6). In the following years, Pericot expanded his circle of frequent correspondents and returned to the country at irregular periods (Fig. 3.10).

Who was paying for Pericot's trips? We know for certain that he received a grant from the University of Santiago for his first trip and the correspondence with the Secretary General and head of the CSIC, José María Albareda, makes it clear that the CSIC sponsored many of his trips. After Albareda's death in 1966, Pericot must have continued benefiting from the CSIC, the institution of which he became vice-president between 1969 and 1971. Other than that, the Spanish Institute in London, run by a friend of his, Javier de Salas, may well have financed three of his trips (Chapter 4). There is only a single mention of fees received for a lecture. This took place in Edinburgh. Other than that, the British archaeologists never seem to have organised any payment to Pericot for his talks.

Where were his British correspondents travelling to? Fig. 7.8 provides details about the forty-five trips undertaken by Pericot's correspondents and mentioned in the letters. Perhaps due to the smaller number of letters and the limited range of correspondents that Pericot had at the time, before World War II, the information is not rich in detail about foreign travel. Two of the correspondents, Burkitt and E.T. Leeds, had already been to Spain before Pericot went to Britain for the first time in 1926. Burkitt had accompanied Breuil to Spain in 1913 and 1914 and Leeds had been there in 1914 and planned to return in 1921. Kendrick and Childe also went to Spain in the 1920s, although Kendrick's trip to Catalonia during Easter 1927 was in fact a holiday, although the location had been decided as a result of the encounter with Pericot a few months earlier and he used the occasion to meet him and Bosch Gimpera in Barcelona. Childe visited Los Millares and Barcelona during the Christmas holidays of 1928-29. There were no trips to Spain in the 1930s, despite published data indicating that British archaeologists were regularly undertaking trips to Germany, the Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands (Fagan 2001; Webster 1991: 199).

Most of the trips undertaken by Pericot's correspondents are dated after World War II, with forty-three trips listed in this period (Fig. 7.8), a number that excludes the eleven non-archaeological journeys made by Kendrick after World War II (see Fig. 4.4). The forty-three trips were undertaken by twenty-two individuals: twelve students and eleven professional archaeologists (including among the latter Jacquetta Hawkes; the extra number is due to John D. Evans being counted in both categories). The information in the Pericot Archive indicates that there are three peaks in the trips made by British prehistorians to Spain (Fig. 7.9). The highest peak is the earliest period and is dated from the late 1940s to

the mid-1950s. It relates to Pericot's involvement in two organisations. On the one hand, he was able to convince a few British scholars to participate in the International Summer Courses of Ampurias and on one occasion the invitee (Burkitt) brought three students with him. On the other hand, in the early 1950s Pericot's presidency of the UISPP seems to have increased the prestige of Spain, so that more British archaeologists were attracted to the idea of lecturing in that country. The second peak is shorter, as it only covers two years, 1959 and 1960. This brief period concurs with the organisation and display of the rock art exhibition in London, when Pericot's name must have been mentioned in Britain, influencing young students who were then drawn to start their research on Spanish prehistory (Pell, Walker and Scantlebury). The third peak is only partly due to the influence of Pericot, as it was related to the Early History of Agriculture project, with which Pericot never had any direct dealings.

Without taking into account two journeys related to holidays, on the basis of the information obtained in the Pericot Archive, the eleven archaeologists in Table 7.15 went to Spain a total of twenty-four times after World War II. Christopher Hawkes made the most trips (5), followed by Clark and Higgs (4), Childe (3) and Daniel (2), with the rest (Burkitt, Evans, Garrod, Waechter and Zeuner) only going once. Although the letters are not usually explicit about the sources of funding, it seems likely that these trips were sponsored equally between Spain and Britain. About half the total number of paid-for trips were sponsored by Spanish funds and were always used to bring scholars to lecture. The other half of the sponsored trips were funded by British sources and covered a more varied range of activities: occasionally for lectures (Clark, 1952), on other occasions to attend meetings of the CISPP/UISPP, and in a third group they paid for activities relating to the Early History of Agriculture Project project in Spain. Occasional visits to archaeological sites were mainly paid for by private funds (Garrod-Waechter 1951, Daniel 1952, Childe 1957).

Archaeologist	**Trip date**	**Reason for trip**	**Places visited**	**Paid for by / notes**
Kendrick, T.	Easter 1927	Holiday	Catalonia, site of Ampurias, Barcelona	Self / Went to Barcelona to meet Bosch Gimpera and Pericot
Childe, G.	Christmas holiday 1928-29	Visit sites and make contacts	Barcelona, Almería	Self
Childe, G.	April 1947	Lectures in Madrid and Barcelona	Madrid, Valencia, Barcelona	CSIC, University of Barcelona
Hawkes, C.	August/Sept 1947	Lecture at Ampurias course	Ampurias	CSIC / Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Thompson, M.W.	July 1950	Visit rock art sites	Sites on the Mediterranean coast	Self
Hawkes, C. Hawkes, J.	Sept 1950	Lecture at Ampurias course	Balearic Islands	CSIC?
Evans, John D.	Academic year 1950-51	PhD research	Resided in Madrid, attended Ampurias course in Catalonia	Self?
Burkitt, MC	Sept 1951	Lecture at Ampurias course	Santander	CSIC
Paull, Ann Spence, Gillian Tennant, Peter	Sept 1951	Attending Ampurias course	Santander	Selves
Garrod, D. Waechter, J.	March 1951	Visit sites	Valencia	? / Pericot accompanied them

…/… cont Archaeologist	**Trip date**	**Reason for trip**	**Places visited**	**Paid for by / notes**
Smith, M.	January-March 1952	Research on Beakers	Barcelona and Madrid	Self
Thompson, M.W.	August 1951-March 1952	PhD research	Portugal, resided in Barcelona from Nov to Feb, Madrid, Malaga, Asturias, Cantabria, Basque Country.	Self / supervised by Pericot (Oct 1951- March 1952)
Clark, G.	March 1952	Lecture at Barcelona University	Barcelona, Valencia	British Academy
Daniel, G.	Sept 1952	Visit sites and make contacts	Catalonia	Self / He failed to meet Pericot
Zeuner, F	April 1953	Lecture at CSIC (Madrid) and Barcelona University	Santander, Madrid, Barcelona, Almería, Spanish protectorate of Morocco.	CSIC?
Childe, G. Clark, G. Hawkes, C.	April 1954	Paper at the IV CISPP	Madrid	British institutions?
Childe, G.	February 1957	Visit sites	Area by Gibraltar	Self
Pell, B.	May-Nov 1959	Research on Mallorcan archaeology	Lived in Mallorca	Self
Clark, G.	August 1959	Holiday	Catalonia, in a village close to Pericot's holiday home	Self

…/… cont Archaeologist	**Trip date**	**Reason for trip**	**Places visited**	**Paid for by / notes**
Daniel, G.	March 1960	Lecture at British Institute in Barcelona	Barcelona, Gerona	British Institute
Walker, M.	April 1960	PhD research	Barcelona and Madrid	Self
Pell, B.	June 1960	Meeting with Pericot	Barcelona	Self
Evans, JD	Sept 1960	Lecture at Ampurias course	Balearic Islands	CSIC
Scantlebury, J.	1960-61	Research on Cardial pottery	Resided in Barcelona?	
Clark, G.	1963	Lecture at the Univ. of Madrid	Madrid	CSIC?
Clark, G.	Sept 1964	Meeting of the Permanent Council of the UISPP	Zaragoza	UISPP?
Hawkes, C.				UISPP?
Hawkes, C.	1968	Paper at the Tartessos Symposium	Jerez	CSIC?
Bailey, G.	1970?	PhD – EHAP	?	Early History of Agriculture Project British Academy grant (thereafter EHAP BA grant)
Bailey, G.	May 1971	PhD – EHAP	San Sebastián, Santander, Salamanca	EHAP BA grant
Harrison, R.	June 1971	Discuss with Pericot his projected PhD on Beakers	Barcelona	Self?

…/… cont Archaeologist	Trip date	Reason for trip	Places visited	Paid for by / notes
Davidson, I.	Academic year 1971-72	PhD – EHAP	Valencia	British Council – CSIC scholarship
Hawkes, C.	July 1972	Holiday	Mazarron	Self
Davidson, I.	1973	Excavation in the Cueva del Niño	Albacete	? (Eric Higgs assisted, and Jarman was present at the excavation)
Higgs	1973	Assisted Davidson	Albacete	
Davison, I.	1973	Surveys	Aragón	EHAP BA grant
Higgs				
Higgs	1974	Survey	From Asturias to Lerida	EHAP BA grant
Higgs	1974	Survey	From Asturias to Lerida	EHAP BA grant

Figure 7.8. Visits to Spain by British prehistorians described in this book. Information gathered from the Pericot Archive. For Kendrick's trips after World War II see Fig. 4.4.

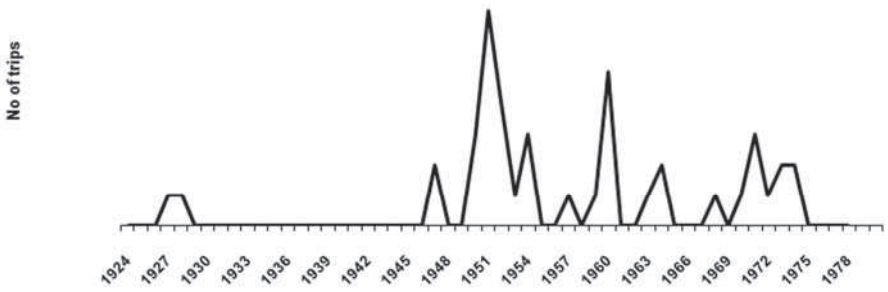

Figure 7.9. Frequency of trips by British prehistorians to Spain.

Geographies of reception: sites of speech and the shaping of new research geographies

This section delves into the specific venues for one of the activities associated with social and scientific interaction, the places where archaeologists speak of their research in order to transmit information about it. Some consideration will be given to the effect that this has on others. In particular, it will look at where Pericot gave talks and associated with other archaeologists through the exchange of his ideas. Issues under examination will be the nature and location of these places and the dates on which these encounters took place. In addition, the impact of the encounters that occurred during his lectures will be measured by the research they generated, i.e. by the degree of enthusiasm Pericot managed to inspire, especially in the new generation of young scholars who were then about to start either on their PhDs or on small research projects. In part, this discussion has already been introduced in some detail in the final sections of Chapters 4 to 6 in the cases of London, Cambridge and Oxford, although here a comparative perspective is offered. The mirror situation will also be looked at, i.e. whether the invitations to British archaeologists to speak in Spain had an impact on Spanish archaeology. The analysis in the following pages will finish by asking whether the speakers played an active role in the selection of the places where they were invited to lecture and, if this was the case, what effect this may have had on the transmission of ideas between Spain and Britain.

Situating talks

Pericot was always invited to give lectures when he visited Britain during university term time. On these seven occasions he gave a total of fifteen

lectures. A cursory review of the list of venues (Fig. 7.10) quickly shows that the places where Pericot was invited to talk were very restricted in terms of their geographical location. Five lectures were delivered in Cambridge (1946, 1951, 1969 and two in 1970), always at the university (either in the department or in a college). Eight lectures were given in London between 1946 and 1972 in four different institutions. In addition, he lectured once in Edinburgh (1946) and once in Bristol (1960). Most of the talks, therefore, were given in academic environments, with the exception of three that were given at the Instituto de España (Spanish Institute). This was a prestigious cultural establishment and the main Spanish cultural institution in London, although not the place where one could expect to have an audience of specialists. However, looking more closely at the data it becomes apparent that Pericot always combined his lectures at the Spanish Institute with others elsewhere. The exception was in 1958 when, as mentioned earlier in the book, there were personal reasons to explain this anomaly. Personal reasons may also account for his acceptance of an invitation to speak at the University of Bristol, as some of his wife's relatives, the Peacock family, had been living in that area for several years (FP- Clive Peacock 18-1-1954). His talk in Edinburgh in April 1946 is understandable given that the scholar inviting him, Gordon Childe, had been among his very first contacts in England, and was behind the organisation of the other two lectures given on that trip. It is fair to conclude, therefore, that Pericot's priority was always to give his talks in academic environments and, in particular, at venues related to archaeology, although occasionally other considerations led him to speak at other less archaeological, but nonetheless highly respected, cultural venues.

Pericot delivered a large number of lectures in London (Fig. 7.10), albeit in comparison to the other cities where he gave talks, the number and nature of the institutions with which he interacted were much more varied. From the eight lectures given there, the two earliest were instigated by scholars who did not work in London at the time – Childe and Hawkes – and were at the Society of Antiquaries (1946) and Prehistoric Society (1951). None of them seems to have had an academic impact in terms of future research, although they obviously raised Pericot's status as an important scholar in British academic circles. For the reasons explained above, there seems to have been no impact either from his three talks at the Spanish Institute. The remaining three lectures were delivered at the Institute of Archaeology, a number that looks low in comparison to those in Cambridge, especially given that the number of students seems

comparable.[1] Pericot did not speak at the Institute during Childe's directorship (1946-1956), although he could only have done so in 1951 and Childe may well have asked him, had Hawkes not suggested that he lecture at the Prehistoric society.

During William F. Grimes' years as the Institute's director (1956-75), Pericot visited London five times during term time, receiving three invitations. He was not invited in January 1958, but gave a lecture there two years later in April 1960, as well as many years later in March 1972. The lack of communication with Grimes – there are no letters exchanged between them and this is understandable given their very different fields of research (Grimes was a specialist in Roman and mediaeval archaeology in Wales and London); this makes his involvement in Pericot's talks unlikely. Instead, all Pericot's dealings with the Institute of Archaeology during the 1960s and early 1970s were connected to John D. Evans. There is a first peak of interaction between Pericot and the Institute in 1960. The institution had agreed to host part of the exhibition on Spanish prehistoric rock art in 1960 (Chapter 4). This was supported by John D. Evans, who had succeeded Childe as Professor of Prehistoric European Archaeology in 1956. Evans was also behind the invitation received by Pericot to talk at the Institute in 1960. After that year, Pericot did not return to Britain for a long period (although in July 1961 he stopped over on his way to Dublin to discuss with Mr Leslie T. Good various issues related to the rock art exhibition). He only came back at the end of the decade, in 1969, when he was invited to talk at the Institute of Archaeology. It was realised, however, that his lecture was going to clash with another on "Mathematical Problems in Archaeology" that better matched the new winds of methodological and theoretical change then sweeping Britain. Pericot's lecture was duly cancelled for fear of him not having a large enough audience (FP- Evans 22-4-1969). Finally, in 1972 Evans invited him to give a double lecture, an opportunity that he used to talk about the Palaeolithic.

[1] Jacquetta Hawkes dates the creation of the Institute of Archaeology to 1934 (Hawkes 1982b: 130), but it may have only existed on paper for two years until headquarters and staff had been sorted out. The Second Annual Report corresponding to 1938 talks about 84 students who had "taken one or more of the technical courses in the past year, some in conjunction with work for various University diplomas" (Second Annual Report 1938 1939). At the time of Childe's directorship, students could opt for two diplomas, one in European Archaeology (Prehistoric) and another in Western Asiatic Archaeology, as well as for MA, MSc and PhD degrees (Harris 2009).

Pericot was never invited to give a talk at Oxford. The main reasons for this seem to have been, on the one hand, the small size of the student body interested in early prehistory and, on the other, the geographical dispersal of staff interested, which made it difficult to combine other duties with attendance at a lecture in a venue that could be some distance away (Derek Roe and Dennis Britton pers. comm. 18-5-2009). In contrast to Cambridge, London and even Edinburgh, in Oxford the growth of students studying prehistoric archaeology proved very slow throughout the twentieth century. This is despite the fact that it had been the first place to teach it officially in 1905 (see Chapter 2).

Pericot was not the only one to lecture in the country where his correspondents lived, as many of them also delivered talks in Spain. As in his case, all the information about this is dated after the Spanish Civil War and World War II. The analysis of lectures given in Spain by British archaeologists on the invitation of Pericot follows a similar chronological pattern to that of Pericot's lectures in Britain (Figs. 7.10 and 7.11), although there was a certain delay. It seems that Pericot's visits to Britain somehow encouraged his British colleagues to return the visit and lecture in Spain. As far as the correspondence seems to indicate, he directly organised nine of the seventeen lectures listed in Figure 7.11: seven at the Ampurias course and, surprisingly, only two at the University of Barcelona, a disparity that may well be related to funding for bringing his speakers to Spain (see Fig. 7.11). Most of those organised by him, again seven out of nine, were delivered in the first decade, from 1947 to 1953. After this, he invited Daniel to lecture at the University once he had secured funding from the British Institute to pay for his trip in 1960 and he also invited John Evans to the Ampurias course. In addition to the lectures organised by Pericot, the letters in the archive include information about eight others. The complete list of all the known lectures provides dates between 1947 and 1968. Five were given by Hawkes, four by Childe, three by Clark and two by Zeuner; the others, Burkitt, Daniel and Evans, gave only one each. As is to be expected, since the information comes from the Pericot Archive and given that he was based in Barcelona, most of the lectures, eleven, were connected to Catalonia: five of them were given in Barcelona, and another six in the places where the Ampurias course was being organised in that particular year (either in Barcelona itself, in the Balearic Islands or, once, in Santander). Another six lectures were delivered in Madrid, three of them in connection with the IV CISPP. All these lectures were given in academic institutions.

Lecture date	**Place (I) town**	**Place (II) institution**	**Lecture topic**	**Main source of information**
22 April 1946	Edinburgh	University of Edinburgh	Parpalló	(FP- Childe 14-3-1946)
? April 1946	London	Society of Antiquaries	Parpalló	(FP- Childe 14-3-1946, Hemp, 4-4-1946)
26 April 1946	Cambridge	University of Cambridge	Parpalló	(FP- Garrod 10-4-1946)
10 October 1951	London	Prehistoric Society	?	(FP- Daniel 2-10-1951, Society of Antiquaries of London, 11-10-1951)
13 October 1951	Cambridge	University of Cambridge	?	(FP- Clark 23-10-1951)
20 January 1958	London	Instituto de España	? - Pericot mentions in his lecture two Iberian vases that had been given to the British Museum by Mrs E. M. Whishaw	(FP- Bramington 21-1-1958)
18 January 1960	London	Instituto de España	Prehistoric rock art?	(FP- Metford 8-2-1960)
15 January 1960	London	Institute of Archaeology	Prehistoric rock art?	(FP- Metford 8-2-1960)
22? January 1960	Bristol	University of Bristol	Prehistoric rock art?	(FP- Metford, 12-2-1960)
(23 April 1969)	(London)	(Institute of Archaeology)	? (cancelled)	(FP- Evans 22-4-1969)
24 April 1969	London	Instituto de España	?	(FP- Peters 14-4-1969)
25 April 1969	Cambridge	University of Cambridge	On archaeology in the Balearic Islands?	(FP- Daniel 21-4-1969)
13 Nov 1970 AM	Cambridge	University of Cambridge	Recent work in Spanish prehistory	(FP- Daniel 26-10-1970, 1-11-1970)

…/… cont Lecture date	Place (I) town	Place (II) institution	Lecture topic	Main source of information
13 Nov 1970 PM	Cambridge	University of Cambridge (Public Lecture before members of the University)	The Balearic Islands in prehistory	(FP- Clark 14-10-1970)
14 March 1972 AM	London	Institute of Archaeology	The Iberian problem	(FP- Evans 18-2-1972)
14 March 1972 PM	London	Institute of Archaeology	The Solutrean in Spain	(FP- Evans 18-2-1972)

Fig. 7.10. Pericot lectures in Britain.

Speaker	Lecture date	Place (I) town	Place (II) institution	Lecture topic
Childe, G.	April 1947	Madrid	CSIC	"The Diffusion of Culture from the Iberian Peninsula over the Atlantic route"
*Childe, G.	April 1947	Madrid	SEAEP	"Fresh Data for the Prehistoric Chronology of Atlantic Europe"
Childe, G.	April 1947	Barcelona	Barcelona U.	?
Hawkes, C	25 Aug-15 Sept 1947	Ampurias	Ampurias course	"Chronologie Hallstattienne: L'Italie et l'Europe Centrale et Occidentale"
Hawkes, C.	2-16 Sept 1950	Ampurias+	Ampurias course	"Mediterranean-British relations in the Bronze Final"

…/… cont Speaker	**Lecture date**	**Place (I) town**	**Place (II) institution**	**Lecture topic**
Hawkes, J.	2-16 Sept 1950	Ampurias+	Ampurias course	"Philosophie de la Prehistoire'
Burkitt, MC	Sept 1951	Ampurias+	Ampurias course	?
Clark, G.	March 1952	Barcelona	Barcelona U.	Recent discoveries in the English Mesolithic
Zeuner, F.	April 1953	Madrid	CSIC(Edaphology)	?
Zeuner, F.	April 1953	Barcelona	Barcelona U.	?
Childe, G.	April 1954	Madrid	IV CISPP	"Burnish-decorated ware in Spain, Hither Asia and the Balkans"
Clark, G.	April 1954	Madrid	IV CISPP	"The working of deer and reindeer antler in Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic times"
Hawkes, C.	April 1954	Madrid	IV CISPP	"The British Iron Age. Chronology and Peoples"
Daniel, G.	15 March 1960	Barcelona	British Council	"The Atlantic Seaways: Iberia and Britain in Prehistoric Times"
	16 March 1960	Barcelona	Barcelona U.	"The Megalithic Monuments of Spain"
Evans, John	Sept 1960	Balearic Is.	Ampurias course	?
**Clark, G.	1963	Madrid	Madrid U.	?
*** Hawkes. C.	1968	Jerez	Tartessos International Symposium	The Atlantic relations of the Tartessian world

Fig. 7.11. Lectures given by British archaeologists in Spain linked to Pericot, with the exception of those with a (*) who were invited by Martínez Santa-Olalla, (**) Almagro or (***) Maluquer.

The parallel chronological pattern of Pericot's lectures and those of his British colleagues (Fig. 7.12a) raises the question about the periods of inactivity, such as the middle years of the 1950s and the 1960s. A cursory glance at the other correspondence written in English in the Pericot Archive provides some clues to explain his apparent lack of interest in British archaeology in these gap periods. It seems that from the mid-1950s, Pericot expanded the geographical location of his talks: he enlarged his area of interest from Britain to include the USA. It was in those two decades that the correspondence with American archaeologists increased to levels similar to those of Britain (Fig. 7.12b). Although the correspondence with the USA started about twenty years after that with British archaeologists, once it began, its frequency goes a long way to explaining the gaps in the correspondence chart with British archaeologists. It seems that Pericot was mainly corresponding either with British or American archaeologists and lecturing mainly in one country or the other (Figs. 7.12c and 7.12d). Pericot visited the USA ten times, three times to give lectures at Ivy League and other universities (1951, 1958 and 1961), once in order to attend a congress (UISAE 1956), twice on his way to Latin America (1952 and 1960), once with an unclear purpose (1964) and twice in order to lecture at the universities and colleges associated with the Bryant Foundation (1970, 1972). Interestingly for the discussion in this section, the years in which Pericot embarked on particularly intense lecture tours in America, 1958 and 1961, show a predominantly strong flow of correspondence with American archaeologists. In this same period, however, the number of letters received from British archaeologists fell significantly (Fig. 7.12b).

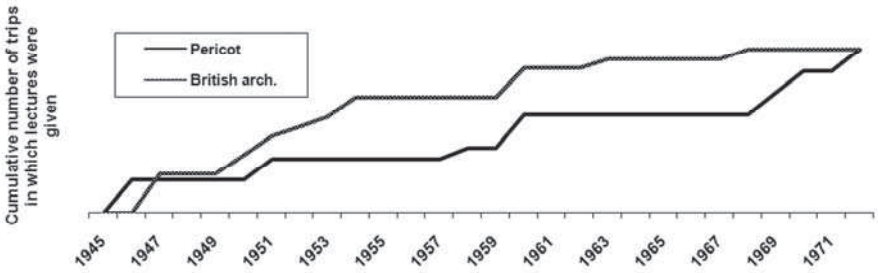

Figure 7.12a. Cumulative graph of trips in which lectures were given by Pericot in Britain and by British archaeologists in Spain.

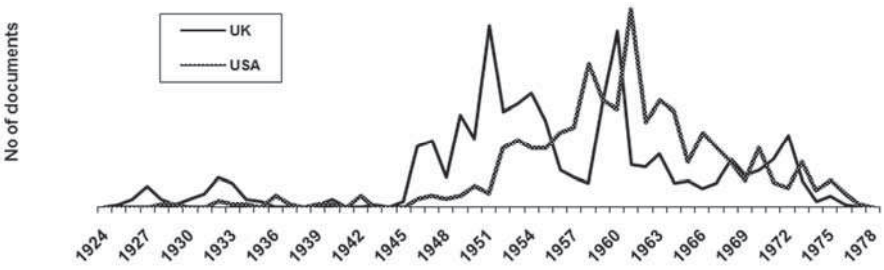

Figure 7.12b. Correspondence sent to Pericot by British and American archaeologists.

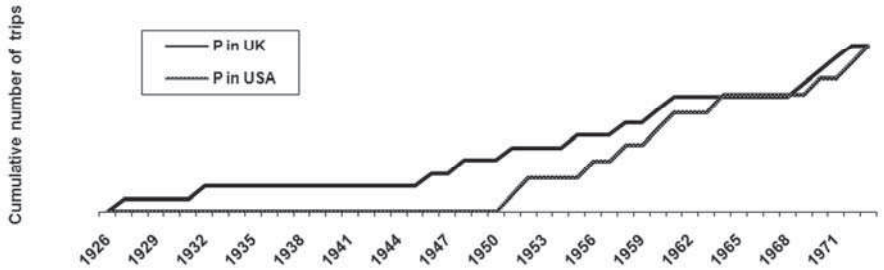

Figure 7.12c. Cumulative graph of all Pericot's trips to Britain and the USA (13 and 10 respectively).

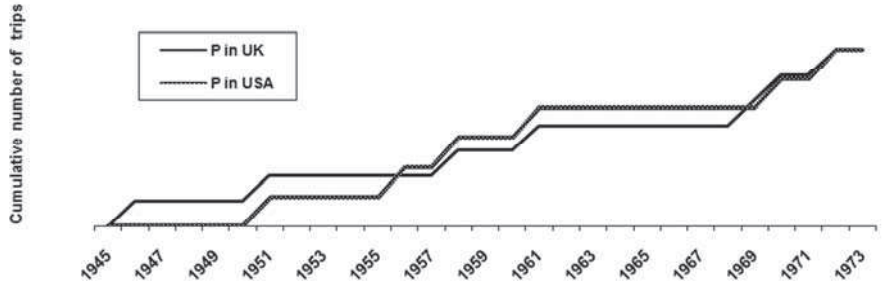

Figure 7.12d. Cumulative graph of all Pericot's trips to Britain and the USA in which lectures were given (7 and 6 respectively).

The analysis of the sites of speech shows that there was no distinction between Britain and Spain concerning the nature of the places where lectures were delivered. Pericot's lectures in Britain were given in a very narrow selection of institutions located mainly in Cambridge and London, the majority of which were university archaeological institutions, although

with some at the Society of Antiquaries and the Prehistoric Society. The information we have about lectures given by his British colleagues in Spain also shows an emphasis on major capitals – Madrid and Barcelona – and academic institutions – universities, the Ampurias course and international conferences. In both countries, therefore, the appropriate place for lectures was in a narrow range of cities, in academic settings, preferably at a university, and ideally with an academic audience. Although the analysis has not been as detailed, it seems that Pericot's selection of places to speak in the USA was similar to that for Britain. He chose the most prestigious universities, at least until his last two trips, when private funding took him to non-Ivy League colleges favoured by his sponsor, William Bryant.

Young audiences and research geographies

The effect of Pericot's talks in Britain

Lectures support the spread of knowledge, but also help scholars to create an image for themselves, strengthen networks with existing friends and allies and provide the necessary contacts to create fresh links with new partners. They also have the potential for another type of impact: they may have the effect of firing the imagination of those especially young members of the audience who are looking for a research area in which to work and establish themselves as experts. It is this last issue that will be analysed in the following pages. In this section the subject of the lectures accounted for above and the effect they had on their young audiences will be looked at. The question to be posed in this section is whether Pericot's talks encouraged new research on Spain and, in the next, whether the talks by his British colleagues in Spain had a mirror effect.

Regarding the geographical areas covered in Pericot's talks, the titles of his lectures denote that the Barcelona professor always restricted his presentations to Spanish archaeology. It will, therefore, be the interest in Spanish archaeology of young British scholars born at the time of Pericot's presence in England that will be looked at in this section. Interestingly, although Pericot never lectured there, students from Oxford attended his lectures in London and therefore they will be included in the discussion below. In contrast, although Pericot lectured once at Edinburgh and once at Bristol, he does not seem to have had any impact in those two institutions. The universities under scrutiny here, therefore, will be Cambridge, London and Oxford.

Pericot's presence in Cambridge and the several talks he gave there had an effect on a variety of students interested in prehistoric archaeology in Spain. His first and greatest achievement was, in the late 1940s and early 1950s, Michael Thompson, who he officially supervised for a term while the student was in Spain researching his PhD on the Mesolithic of the Iberian Peninsula. However, the lack of academic jobs at the time meant that once he had finished in 1953 Thompson moved away from academia and, although he remained in archaeology working for the Ministry of Works and publishing, he only produced a very limited number of academic publications referring to Pericot's work. This lack of references obviously had a negative effect on Pericot's position in British academia, as he saw little benefit from his investment in caring for this Cambridge PhD student. He did however benefit in a different way: the organisation of the rock art exhibition in London that led to his appearance on television and having his name printed in the newspapers in 1960 was primarily due to Thompson's friendship with the man who sponsored the venture, Mr Leslie T. Good. The student who chronologically followed Thompson was a disappointment: despite Pericot managing to obtain a one-year grant from the Spanish Research Council, the CSIC, in the early 1960s, there is no record that the student, a certain John Scantlebury, achieved much.

The letters in the 1970s show a new appreciation of Pericot's stature thanks to Glyn Daniel's support. Cambridge students considered Pericot as one of the fathers of Spanish archaeology and a person with whom one had to speak before embarking on any subject to do with the prehistory of Spain and from whom one could get guidance and facilities. Iain Davidson was the student who had most contact with him, attaining privileges such as being able to get samples for radiocarbon dating from the Cave of Parpalló. Other students benefited less directly. Among those were two PhD students, Geoff Bailey and Robert Chapman, and two others who were at the time doing their doctoral research in the USA but who had completed an MA at Cambridge, Antonio Gilman and Richard Harrison.

As Cambridge was the place in Britain with the largest number of students doing PhDs, it is no surprise that most of Pericot's influence was exerted there. However, other students, mainly from London and Oxford, were also influenced by Pericot. Regarding London, during the time the rock art exhibition was being prepared, one of Evans' London students, Barbara Pell, became interested in Mallorcan archaeology, perhaps partly as a

result of a visit to Pericot in January 1959. In the end, however, she moved on and never published anything of substance on the archaeology of that area, despite having been subsidised by a grant for a year to investigate the Bronze Age period in the Balearic Islands. Pericot again failed to make an impact through her. A second student from London, Charles E. Dortch, contacted Pericot in March 1968, at a time when Pericot had been absent from Britain for several years and more than ten years after he had corresponded with Dortch's supervisor for his MA dissertation, John Waechter. This lack of personal contact, either through correspondence or through face-to-face meetings, is likely to have influenced the failure of Dortch's plea. He unsuccessfully asked Pericot for permission to work with the material from Parpalló. The Barcelona professor's refusal is, however, understandable, given that his intention at the time was to work on it himself after his imminent retirement.

Only a small proportion of Hawkes' students specialised in prehistoric archaeology (Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009b). As Pericot never lectured in Oxford, Hawkes' students and young assistants had to go to London to hear him speak. One of those who did was Margaret Smith, who attended Pericot's lecture in London in 1951, and three months later spent some time studying Bell beakers in Barcelona before continuing her research in Portugal, Andalusia and Madrid. This resulted in two articles (Smith 1953; 1956), but her promising career was cut short a few years later by her marriage in the mid-1950s. Michael Walker was another of Hawkes' students who went to Spain in the early 1960s. His interest may be connected to Pericot's talks in London in 1960. However, Walker's problems with Hawkes may have unfortunately brought his links with Pericot to an end, despite his newly-appointed D.Phil. supervisor being John D. Evans. Walker indeed published on Spanish archaeology from the late 1960s (Walker 1969; 1971; 1972a; 1972b) and after some years working in Edinburgh (1969-73) and Sydney in Australia (1973-88), he moved to Spain where he is now a recently retired professor. There are no lectures in the mid-1960s that may have encouraged another two Oxford students' interest in Spanish archaeology and in any case both dropped their intentions before having been to Spain (see Chapter 6). From 1965, Oxford students had the possibility of studying for a Diploma in Prehistoric Archaeology, but Pericot had no links with the prehistorians who taught it, Dennis Britton and Derek Roe, who were much younger than him. As happened with Hawkes, they never invited him to lecture in Oxford. The lack of communication may explain why they never sent students to undertake research on Spanish archaeology.

From the above information we can conclude that, in the short term, Pericot impacted on a handful of British students who became interested in Spanish archaeology and the outcome of this was, in the medium term, a small number of publications. However, in the long term Pericot's efforts largely failed, mainly because the students either did not complete their research (Scantlebury and Pell) or because they dropped their research interest soon after finishing their degrees and were therefore only able to produce a very limited number of publications. The reasons for this are of a personal or professional nature: Smith left professional archaeology to get married and the lack of jobs in Britain led Thompson to find a position in heritage management and Davidson to look for an academic position in Australia.

It is not easy to compare this rate of failure in the long term with that of other British students who never became interested in Spain. Perhaps in a period of job shortages, preference is given to those working on parts of the world more akin to the traditional research areas of British scholarship – mainly Britain and her Empire (Bray and Glover 1987), either formally or informally. It may be worth pointing out that it could indeed make more sense for the British system to support students following the traditional path of research undertaken in areas of the former British Empire. Because of their history, the former British colonies had an infrastructure that was to a degree similar to that of Britain, an advantage that was coupled with the knowledge British archaeologists had of the practicalities of accessing data, i.e. knowledge of how the bureaucracy worked, the norms of the proper use of language when requesting information and a minimal cultural familiarity with the norms of proper behaviour. It is more likely for students to have direct support in the ex-colonies and areas within the informal British Empire, especially in those with foreign schools. As explained above, during the 1950s and 1960s, if they decided to work in Pakistan in the years after independence, they would have found an archaeological service directed by an Englishman, Mortimer Wheeler (Hawkes 1982b: ch. 10). Also, most of the African countries once dominated by the British Empire had British archaeologists working in them (Robertshaw 1990).

In contrast to this situation, the long archaeological tradition and institutionalisation of Spanish archaeology (Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009a and Chapter 2) impeded direct and free access to data by British students and scholars. Working on Spanish archaeology meant mastering a new

language, a new set of networks and new rules of social behaviour that would help them in the acquisition of unwritten rights to access data (whereas data was easily obtained without so much effort in other parts of the world that were or had recently been under British rule). Not everybody succeeded in this and the Pericot Archive provides good examples of the difficulties. Despite requests from several researchers associated with Cambridge and London, Pericot banned access to the Parpalló data to everybody but the two British students who had been partly supervised by him. Pericot was approached twice by other British archaeologists who wanted to work in Parpalló. The first to be rejected was Eric Higgs in 1960, whose letters to Pericot asking for permission to open a trial trench in Parpalló to obtain a succession of Carbon 14 dates were simply ignored as far as we can tell. The other was an MA student, Charles E. Dortch, who in 1968 tried to revise the result of the Parpalló excavations for an MA dissertation, but after receiving a negative reply he moved on to work on Near Eastern archaeology. Only Michael Thompson and Iain Davidson were successful in obtaining data on Parpalló and both had spent some time in Spain with Pericot under his supervision. In other words, to a degree, both of them had been integrated into the social network of Spanish scholars who were granted some controlled access to data.

The effect of lectures given by British archaeologists in Spain

As explained above, the Pericot Archive provides information about seventeen lectures given by British archaeologists in Spain, nine of them organised by Pericot himself. Given the source, the list of places where these lectures were given is understandably skewed towards Catalonia (Barcelona and the places where the Ampurias course took place). However, the political system in which Pericot lived, a central state with an emphasis on control from the capital, Madrid, is also reflected by the data, as seven talks were delivered there. It is, therefore, among students from Barcelona and Madrid that we could expect to see the effect these lectures given by British archaeologists in Spain might have had on the youngest generation of archaeologists. The potential effect may also be connected to the geographical area these talks dealt with.

To start with the latter issue, the geographies covered by the talks, information provided in Figure 7.11, clearly shows that, in contrast to the lectures given by Pericot (Fig. 7.10), who discussed issues related to Spanish archaeology, his British colleagues were more ambitious. With

two exceptions, their lectures generally covered either all or part of Eurasia, or dared to talk about Spanish archaeology in an international setting. It is not possible to compare this selection of titles with a similar list of talks that these same archaeologists gave in Britain, as no such list exists, but if we assume that the British archaeologists in our study were writing articles on the same subjects as they were giving lectures on, it becomes clear that there is a bias towards more general subjects during their visits to Spain. In Britain, they expected their audience to be interested in British archaeology, but when they visited Spain, this was not the case. And they were not wrong.

The lack of interest in British archaeology on the part of Spanish archaeologists was partly a question of language. In the years this book deals with, the main international languages were French and German and only a minority learned English as a second language. Italian was also widely known by archaeologists in Spain and exchanges between those countries were not unusual. Most Spanish archaeologists had some first-hand knowledge of French and Italian archaeology and a few knew about German archaeology. Spanish scholars generally did not read English and were almost completely unaware of new discoveries taking place in the English-speaking world, with the exception of those translated by scholars such as Pericot himself. In this context, Pericot's exceptionality needs to be highlighted again: he and his former supervisor, Bosch Gimpera, were almost unique in being able to read and speak English. As British archaeologists did not speak Spanish and Spanish archaeologists did not understand English, the former were not able to communicate their discoveries and thoughts to a Spanish audience unless they did so in French and/or had their words translated. However, this situation never arose, as they were never invited to talk about British archaeology in Spain and consequently they came up with talks about wider subjects with which they also dealt in their own research, with some even speaking about a topic they knew very little about - Spanish archaeology.

Did the lectures given by British archaeologists in Spain have the effect of encouraging students to go to Britain to learn more? There is nothing in the Pericot Archive that points in that direction. However, there were indeed some students who spent some time in England. Three are mentioned in the letters: Antonio Blanco, Gloria Trias and Antonio Arribas. Antonio Blanco was one of García Bellido's students at the University of Madrid who between 1947 and 1949 expanded his knowledge of classical archaeology at Oxford. In the early 1950s one of

Almagro's students from Barcelona, Gloria Trias, also went to Oxford to learn about Greek pottery with John Beazley, in order to be able to analyse the finds from the Greek colony of Emporion (Ampurias). It was Brian Shefton's visit to the Museum of Barcelona that triggered Trias' study in England. He arranged Beazley's acceptance of Trias as an (unofficial) student at Oxford (G. Trias via M. Orfila pers. comm. 12-2-2010). Pericot does not seem to have been involved in this.

The third student, Antonio Arribas, was also one of Almagro's students. He sent some letters to Pericot from England explaining what he was doing, which shows some sort of involvement by Pericot in his trip. Arribas excavated at Stonehenge, visited many of the major sites and also organised meetings with many of Pericot's British (and Irish) contacts, although these were brief encounters as he did not spend time as a student being supervised by them. In any case, Arribas' trip does not seem to be related to the lectures given by British archaeologists listed in Figure 7.11. By the time Arribas went to England in 1956, most of the talks had been delivered several years earlier. Even though the IV CISPP had taken place two years before, a connection with Arribas' trip seems unlikely. In summary, no students therefore went to England to study with the British archaeologists who came to lecture in Spain: they did not go to Oxford to study the Iron Age with Hawkes – someone like Almagro would have considered that unnecessary, as he thought that he could teach students all they needed to know (however, they went to Oxford to learn about Greek pottery, as there was no specialist in Spain on that subject and no Spanish school in Athens to go to). Nor did students go to Cambridge to be taught by Burkitt, Clark and Daniel, or to London to learn from Childe, Zeuner and Evans.

From the above, we have to conclude that the talks given by British archaeologists in Spain failed to have an effect, even in the short term, on the future development of the Spanish students that probably attended them. It seems that Spanish archaeologists – students and, in fact, also professionals – were neither interested in learning about British archaeology, nor, given the topics of at least two of the lectures, were they sufficiently open to others coming from outside their own system to teach them about their own archaeology. It could be argued that the reason why the talks given by British archaeologists had no effect was because they were not within the context of the discussions taking place within the Spanish archaeological community. They did not attract students to undertake research in Britain or even to use the publications that the

British archaeologists produced, including those published in Spanish journals. In a study undertaken elsewhere on Clark's influence on Spanish archaeology it was possible to demonstrate that not even the archaeologists who published on the economic or social aspects of archaeology – Pericot and Tarradell – received their inspiration from the main representative of economic and social archaeology in England, Grahame Clark. Instead, they were directly influenced by the French School of Annales through its translator in Spain, the mediaeval and modern historian, Vicens Vives (Díaz-Andreu 2010). Clark's influence reached Spain at the hand of Cambridge students talking about him to Spanish students. Thus, in the 1970s, thanks to the information from Iain Davidson, then a student at Cambridge, young archaeologists at the time, such as José Aparicio Pérez, did read Clark's work. In the publication of his UG dissertation, he quoted him several times using a French translation (Aparicio Pérez 1976: 128, 142, 154, 219; Clark 1955).

The lack of willingness on the part of Spanish archaeologists to learn from what their British counterparts were talking about was related to the nature of their archaeological traditions. Spanish archaeologists were mainly concerned with the archaeology of their own regions, the most ambitious professors being those who made syntheses of the archaeology of Spain as a whole. They were generally not interested in having a profound knowledge of other archaeological traditions, unless they were directly related to their own (as in the case of France and Portugal). Summaries of events elsewhere, such as those made by Pericot (see the section on textual spaces above) were fine, but more precise information was not perceived as necessary. Even communication with other Spanish-speaking areas of the world, such as those on the American continent, where local traditions of research had emerged in countries such as Mexico, Peru and Argentina, was practically non-existent, although Bosch Gimpera's exile in Mexico encouraged some interaction with that country and there were some contacts with Argentina. Spanish archaeology was, in short, nationalist. In fact, it could not have been otherwise. If Spanish scholars were almost exclusively interested in working on the archaeology of their own country, it was simply because trying to work elsewhere would have been virtually impossible. It was, therefore, not just a question of ideology, but very much of practicality. Spanish archaeologists had neither the economic or political support nor the infrastructure to undertake archaeological projects beyond their frontiers, with the exception of the Spanish protectorate of Morocco (Fernández Martínez 2001; Gozalbes Cravioto 2008). To undertake research on British archaeology was simply out of the question,

even if they had been allowed to do so. In Britain, however, the situation was very different. British archaeology had a long history of imperialism (Díaz-Andreu 2007d) and, despite the British Empire being in decline in the years after World War II, when most of its colonies received independence, the period this book deals with was also when the Commonwealth was formed (1931, re-founded in April 1949). Not only did this not stop British archaeology from being imperial in character, it did in fact reinforce imperialism in fields such as prehistory, where it had mostly been nationalistic up to that time.

Geographies of credibility and authority

The space where scholars, and therefore also archaeologists, interact is not a neutral shell. It consists of places that are socially experienced and have negotiated meanings. Archaeologists live through places that have already been invested with values that can be changed – or not – by their actions. Their practice is moulded by space and rooted in it, but, at the same time, the perception and use of space can be transformed through practice. This chapter has considered the spatiality of scientific knowledge through two different major perspectives. On the one hand, it has looked at the geographies dealt with in the written production of knowledge, identifying trends and decisions made by three scholars; on the other, it has examined how knowledge travels from one place to another and how it is received, focusing on a range of issues including reviews, translations, scientific journeys and talks.

This final section of the chapter will start by trying to explain the reasons behind the differences indicated in the first part with regard to the geographies included in the texts produced by archaeologists of different national archaeological traditions. A comparison between the spaces considered by Luis Pericot and those discussed by his British colleagues, Gordon Childe and Christopher Hawkes, will highlight some of the constraints archaeologists encounter in the geographical areas on which to work and publish. A series of factors that influenced their choices will be identified, including a diverse range of aspects from opportunism to banal nationalism. In the final part of this chapter the focus will move from places of knowledge production to those of reception. Three vehicles that facilitate the movement of knowledge from one country to another have been explored in this chapter: like those assessed in Chapters 4 to 6, two of them relate to written matter, but in this case printed instead of handwritten: reviews of publications and the translations of some of them

into other languages. The third relates to travel to foreign countries. Particular attention has been paid to one of the activities undertaken on those trips abroad, namely academic talks, and also to the effects they had on the geographies of future research. In this section, the results of all these analyses will be looked at in the light of a reassessment of the concept of mainstream and minority archaeological communities proposed by Neustupný (1997-98).

Living spaces and text geographies

The analysis of the relationship between geography and text and, in particular, the relationship between the geographies abided by and perceived by authors and what they wrote about, has been the focus of the first analysis undertaken in this chapter. The assessment of textual spaces in three case studies, the writings of the archaeologists Pericot, Childe and Hawkes, has indicated that the production of knowledge is indeed related to the geography its producers' experience. The geographies that archaeologists live through matter in terms of what is researched and written about. The places where these scholars were based had a significant effect on the location of what was being described and/or investigated in their archaeological texts. However, the findings also indicate that this connection is far from being unproblematic. As the examples show, the link between living space and the geographies about which archaeologists publish is not mechanical and fully predictable. Pericot, Childe and Hawkes, despite publishing on expected areas, were able to choose and produce very different responses to the geographical settings in which they lived and developed their careers. It seems worth trying to discriminate between, on the one hand, the factors that conditioned the scholars' geographical interests and, on the other, the choices available to them that supported their particular responses. This will help to explain why, despite the geographical constraints, scholars living in the same areas were able to produce work on a wide and varied range of geographies.

The constraints that condition scholars' research interests in particular locations are mainly related to what is considered to be an acceptable geography of research. The investigation of this issue highlights the link between science and politics and, in particular, between nationalism and archaeology, a link already explored in many studies elsewhere (Díaz-Andreu and Champion 1996; Kohl and Fawcett 1995). It has been repeatedly shown by many historians of archaeology, and in the pages

above it has once again become evident, that it is not difficult to find a strong connection between the national identity of scholars and the geographies of their research. This connection, however, is not usually looked for, but rather perceived as natural. From an early age, citizens of the nation-state are imbued with banal geographies (cf. Billig 1995): children in school learn about their own countries and its overseas territories (if any), as well as about the need to know about all of them. Children are taught the history, physical geography and environment of their own national and imperial lands. When young men and women decide to go to university, they are usually lectured about the same lands. Questions that are deemed important mainly refer to it. Research worth pursuing, not surprisingly, also relates to it. The emphasis on the own nation can be explicit in some cases, especially in periods of violent nationalism, when awareness of it is unavoidable. It can also be explicit when the scholar is politically inclined to a specific understanding of the nation that may not be shared with many other scholars. In most cases, however, the attachment to their own territory and the research on it is so naturalised that scholars are not necessarily aware of the reasons that led them to choose a research area within the boundaries of their own region, nation-state and/or empire.

The link between nationalism and imperialism, on the one hand, and the research area on the other, has two difficulties in our analysis: transnationalism and competing and overlapping nationalisms. These refer to the case studies of Gordon Childe and Pericot. It is well known that Childe was a transnational scholar. In the analysis above he has been treated as a British citizen, although he was born and schooled in Australia at a time when that country was still divided into six colonies that belonged to the British Empire. As a child he learned about Britain (Firth and Darlington 1993) and he did not need a passport to travel there in 1914. Even after Australia gained independence through Britain's Statute of Westminster of 1931, Australians continued to have British passports up to 1948 (from 1949 until 1967 they were 'Australian passports' for British subjects). Australian nationality was not recognised by law until 1969, i.e. after Childe's death, and it was not until 1984 that Australians ceased to be British subjects (Terry Irving pers. comm. 27-2-2010). The complex relationship between nationalist feeling and transnationalism has not been properly explored in the field of identity studies. However, from the point of view of our analysis, the proposal made here is that although Childe was personally attached to his native Australia, he also developed a strong feeling of belonging to his adopted country, the United Kingdom.

In his letters to Pericot he did not mention Australia once until 1956, when he announced that in a year's time he would be "either in Australia or in some other rather sunnier clime" (FP- Childe, 12-1-1956). In his professional capacity he always acted as a British national.

The second difficulty affecting our analysis relates to competing and overlapping nationalisms and in particular to Pericot's position between Spanish and Catalan nationalism. In the analysis above, his work has been described as that of a Spanish scholar. However, this is bound to be considered problematic, especially in the light of recent developments in Catalonia. Pericot was Catalan and Catalan nationalism was a strong movement throughout his life, although one censured after the Spanish Civil War. However, there is little indication that Pericot himself was a Catalan nationalist, despite the fact that it would have been easy to explicitly identify himself as such before the 1940s. This was what his former supervisor and friend, Bosch Gimpera, did. Bosch supported a nationalistic understanding of Catalonia as part of a federal Spain and used archaeology to sustain this view (Bosch Gimpera 1937b). Because he also believed in Spain as a nation, Bosch enthusiastically encouraged Pericot to become the head of archaeology in a non-Catalan country, Galicia (see Chapter 3). In contrast to Bosch, however, Pericot was not explicitly political. Nevertheless, the textual analysis has shown that he certainly felt a strong attachment to Catalonia and to all the Catalan-speaking territories in Spain, i.e. not only Catalonia but also the Balearic Islands and the Valencian-speaking Valencian Country (as the Valencian language has strong links to Catalan). His example shows how it may be difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish in professional practice the difference between regionalism and alternative nationalisms.

As suggested by the analysis of the three case studies, in practical terms the difference between the territorial expanse controlled by non-imperial as opposed to imperial nations has important consequences for scholars' geographical aspirations. The range of possibilities for scholars in imperial nations is always wider, their generalisations are potentially much more ambitious and therefore the effect of their research greater – something that is amplified by the means of communication they have access to. The three case studies clearly illustrate the impact that living in either a nation or an empire had on the research undertaken by Pericot, Childe and Hawkes. Pericot undertook research and published on the area covered by his nation-state, Spain, in addition to North Africa, the location of the Spanish protectorate of Morocco, and paid some minor attention to the rest

of Eurasia, Africa and America. The research on British archaeology by both Childe and Hawkes followed a similar pattern of interest focused on the nation-state. The difference between them and Pericot is that British archaeologists had the choice of undertaking research and of publishing about archaeology beyond the frontiers of the nation-state on a much wider scale than Spanish archaeologists, an opportunity that Childe benefited from. His initial interest in Greece and Eastern Europe was supported by the infrastructure created by Britain's informal imperialism in these areas (Díaz-Andreu 2007d: chs. 4 and 5).

Geographies, however, are not immutable. They are transformed over time, depending on the historical events that shape the nation or empire. It is interesting to investigate whether the changing political fates of Spain and Britain throughout the years during which Pericot, Childe and Hawkes were active in archaeology influenced their work. In Spain, alternative nationalisms were censured from the 1940s, but regionalism was accepted and, in some ways, encouraged. Pericot's interest in Catalonia and the Mediterranean areas was considered normal, but if he had decided to work on the archaeology of an area far from the Mediterranean, while being professionally active in Barcelona, he would have raised many complaints and made enemies. From 1912 to 1956 Spain also had the Spanish protectorate of Morocco and it would be possible to relate the theories on the North African Aterian and its connection to the Spanish Solutrean with the political situation (see Fernández Martínez 2001: 173). By 1956 he had published 67% of all his articles on Africa. However, the institutions dealing with Africa that until then had funded his trips to the Pan-African congresses were not abolished at the end of the Spanish protectorate of Morocco and Pericot continued obtaining funding for his trips and consequently went on publishing for ten more years. In many cases, colonies go through a transition from being part of the formal empire to being integrated into an informal one. Although this may have been the idea behind the survival of the research institutes, Spanish imperialism was too weak to stand against its French equivalent. Soon after the end of the Spanish Protectorate, this area of North Africa was largely absorbed into the French area of influence (something supported by the Moroccan authorities after the area that had been ruled by Spain asked for autonomy from the rest of Morocco in the early years of independence). In Spain, however, there was a delay between the end of a colony and the termination of the colonial imagination about it, which has not yet fully happened. It seems clear, however, that the interest in African archaeology is to some extent less marked in the current generation of archaeologists

(although there have been a series of congresses on the Strait of Gibraltar in the last two decades).

Britain's geography also changed during the decades from 1920 to 1960 and, as in Pericot's case, the effect was not evident in the generation that experienced it directly. To start with, Britain still was a mighty empire that directly dominated one quarter of the world and indirectly almost the whole of it. In the 1950s, however, the process of decolonisation was well underway, with India and Pakistan and many countries in Africa becoming independent. Nevertheless, the informal empire continued, as Britain remained one of, if not the most, powerful influences from the West in the affairs of the new countries. Childe's early interest in prehistoric Greece expanded to include the whole of Eurasia and Egypt, whereas at the same time it also contracted to focus on British archaeology in general and Scottish archaeology in particular. He persisted with this line of research throughout his life, although he packaged it in a different way, with his general writings and those on the sociology of knowledge. Some changes would have become evident, however, if we had included among the case-studies the example of Grahame Clark. In contrast to the political situation, Clark's geographical interests, instead of contracting, expanded greatly in the 1960s. Perhaps it was the realisation that there was no future in the archaeology of India and Pakistan – already covered by his compatriot Mortimer Wheeler – or Africa – the jobs had been covered in the 1950s – that led him in the 1960s to look into other areas of the informal empire: Australia and New Zealand where he could find jobs for his own students.

In conclusion, I would argue that the connection between spatial enquiry and lived-in nation or empire, despite its importance and the indicated constraints it imposes, is not strong enough to fully predetermine the scholars' particular geographies of research. In practice, scholars actually have a wide range of possibilities, which results in them writing about a wide variability of archaeological spaces. Several factors, in addition to nationalism, have been mentioned as influencing scholars' choices as regards the geographical areas they investigate: personal attachment to particular areas, cultural and linguistic affinity, geographical distance, funding, opportunism, political ideology and common nationalism. As examples of the first, one can mention Pericot's research on the area of his birth, Gerona, and Hawkes' digs in the grounds of his old school, Winchester College, in the late 1920s. Cultural-linguistic attachment was a clear plus for Pericot, who, with the exception of his brief Galician period,

always lived in Catalan-speaking areas and conducted research on them. Geographical distance also deserves some consideration; although it did not seem to stop Childe from going to faraway places, even with very little financial means, it prevented Pericot's involvement in Galicia. Funding is also a consideration in scholars' decisions about whether or not to undertake research in particular areas, as they are understandably more inclined to carry out research when sponsored to do so; this may explain why Hawkes never attempted to work on, say, Scottish archaeology[1]. Political ideology is another factor we should not forget, as without it we would not be able to understand Childe's articles on the archaeology of the USSR. Opportunism and status within the profession are the final factors to bear in mind. It is not unusual to hear those high in the profession complaining about not having time any more to conduct research, as they have to spend their time finding funds for others to do it. This was certainly Pericot's case; while he wrote general publications about the archaeology of the Balearic Islands, he never produced any research articles of substance. All his writing energies were devoted to organising the American sponsors funding archaeology in the Catalan-speaking areas. Among them I will only refer here to the Bryant Foundation (Doenges 2005). Pericot composed many long letters to his American sponsor, William Bryant, as well as to Daniel Woods and John Dodds (all of which are now in the Pericot Archive). The scholar he selected to undertake the basic research in Mallorca was Antonio Arribas. Pericot increasingly became the middleman between those doing research in the field and publishers and sponsors.

Unbalanced international geographies

A few years ago Evzen Neustupný (Neustupný 1997-98) distinguished between mainstream and minority archaeological communities. The former were characterised as large communities sharing a language, with a wide institutional base, a variety of meetings organised, a steady productionof publications and a pyramid-shaped hierarchical structure. He also pointed out that these communities usually only published in their own language

[1] In a previous biographical study of the Spanish archaeologist José Ramón Mélida, I provided a further example of this. I argued that lack of funding and the non-existence of an audience made him drop his initial intention of undertaking research on Egyptian archaeology. Thus, all his publications on the subject are dated to his youth at the end of the nineteenth century. Egypt was simply too far away and too expensive for Spanish archaeologists to undertake research there (Díaz-Andreu 2008).

and had their works translated in other countries. He suggested that the issue should not be simplified by resorting to nationalism and language. It was not nationalism, as both mainstream and minority archaeological communities could be nationalistic (Neustupný 1997-98: 17). Language was not the answer either, as countries such as Britain and the USA, where the same language is spoken, were two distinct archaeological communities. In contrast to mainstream archaeologies, Neustupný pointed to minority archaeologies, which he described as communities that were too small to allow for good discussion among their members and who tried to overcome their isolation by participating in some of the activities and discussions held in the mainstream communities. However, he indicated that this attempt was doomed to fail, as lack of familiarity with the conventions for written work in the mainstream community, inadequate knowledge of the priorities given in the other community with regard to the hierarchy of references to be included and the use of information that had not been acknowledged by the mainstream community led to mainstream archaeologists finding the minority archaeologists' contributions deficient. Despite the explanatory power of Neustupný's proposal for the 1990s, i.e. in a world in which one language had become dominant on the international scene, one could argue that his dual division is only valid at first glance, especially when one considers earlier decades. A closer look reveals a much more complex panorama in the period considered in this book (from the 1920s to the 1970s), as well as to a great degree in the present. Neustupný's classification of archaeological communities into mainstream and minority is mainly based on two factors: the size of the community and one group's degree of acceptance of the ideas of the other. However, as the several analyses undertaken so far in this chapter show, even if he is right in his opinion of the importance of size, his proposal fails to account for the complexity of the second factor: the perception of the scientific value.

One could agree with Neustupný's definition that French archaeology, and I suspect German archaeology, were mainstream in post-war Europe: both had large communities, their archaeologists only published in their own language and were on the whole not open to contributions from archaeologists from other countries. To a large degree, both British and Spanish archaeologies also were mainstream. They also both had sizeable communities and powerful means of communication and a sufficiently broad base for discussing new proposals and findings among themselves. Taking these last two, a rough calculation indicates that in the middle decades of the twentieth century – as now – the number of archaeologists

working in Britain was higher than in Spain. In Britain, in addition to the increasing number of university lecturers, museum curators and those working in heritage administration, one should include the members of the many local and national societies who, to some extent, became integrated into official archaeology through institutions such as the CBA. Also, the wider range of topics included in archaeology – not only British archaeology, but also Egyptology and Classical, Mesopotamian, African and Australian archaeology, among others – helped boost the numbers. The total number of archaeologists in Britain must have been in the hundreds. In Spain, however, although perhaps those working in universities on the archaeology of Spain were similar in number (and perhaps even greater) to those working on the archaeology of Britain, there was no colonial archaeology (with the exception of the couple of archaeologists working in the Spanish protectorate of Morocco). Also, the degree of collaboration between professional and non-professional archaeologists was problematic and, with exceptions, practically came to an end in the late 1950s (see Chapter 2 and below). All this resulted in a much smaller archaeological community.

The question of numbers, therefore, has to be qualified by the degree of internal cohesion in each of the archaeological communities. British archaeologists acted as a unifying force during the 1940s. Childe, tongue in cheek, wrote to Pericot, referring to his attendance at the conference on the Future of Archaeology from 6 to 8 August 1943 in London, that all British archaeologists were largely engaged on "'work of national importance" and had "found time to assemble at a congress in Burlington House to discuss the future of archaeological research in the British Isles" (FP- 8-5-1943). Despite the acknowledgement of some of the contributors, such as Grahame Clark, of the backwardness of British archaeology compared to that of Germany, this was seen as a source of pride: regarding state funding, Clark would say "where has it led Germany, and where would it lead us?" (in Evans 1995: 315). The meeting brought together professionals and non-professionals, including those from museums, universities and national and local societies, and included those interested in both British and overseas archaeology. There was even a whole section devoted to the teaching of archaeology in elementary, secondary and public schools, as well as at universities and in adult education (CFA 1946).

The state of affairs in Spain was in clear contrast to the situation in British archaeology in 1940s and 1950s. A gathering such as the Conference on

the Future of Archaeology held in London would have been impossible in Spain. No discussion of education, especially at the school level, would have been felt appropriate, as there was a clear sense of superiority of those working at the higher educational level over those in children's education and to become involved in adult education would have been felt as out of place. Moreover, in 1940s and 1950s Spain, professional archaeologists were divided, with those controlling fieldwork, excavation permits and funding giving them to amateurs to prevent other professionals undertaking research. This situation largely wasted many of the advances of the first three decades of the twentieth century, when Spanish scholars' strong self-perception of backwardness in their academic structures had resulted in debate and, more importantly, in investment in new scholarly centres and the training of young scholars in a foreign country of their choice. This is how Bosch Gimpera had been able to benefit from a grant to spend two years in Germany before World War I and how Pericot had travelled to several countries in 1931. As far as archaeology is concerned, this golden period in Spanish scholarship had resulted in Bosch Gimpera's major role in the creation of international bodies such as the CISPP. After World War II, however, the role of Spaniards in this association was only partly recovered by Pericot in the 1950s and by others later, but the central role that Spanish archaeology had played in its beginnings had diminished. In contrast, British archaeologists kept their major position in the institution at least up until the 1970s, the end of the period this book deals with.

In any case, despite the differences in the degree of internal cohesion, both British and Spanish archaeology fulfil Neustupný's requirement of being large enough to sustain a discussion circumscribed purely to the existing borders. There is plenty of evidence that this was taking place in Britain and Spain. In prehistoric archaeology, Britain could point to the younger tier of the Golden Generation, a group of prehistorians who began their careers in the 1920s and 1930s and who in turn were responsible for training the next generation. They became powerful through the control of university chairs, societies (the Prehistoric Society and the Society of Antiquaries) and journals (*Antiquity* and the *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*) (Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009b; Stout 2008). In Spain this also took place through university chairs, congresses (the National Archaeological Congresses), and journals (with new creations such as *Ampurias*, *Archivo de Prehistoria Levantina* and *Pyrenae*, to give just three examples). Both British and Spanish archaeologies were mainstream

in the sense that they had sufficient numbers and could largely ignore other communities.

Neustupný (1997-98) implied that mainstream archaeologies were places of authority. Discussions developed within their own borders have their own dynamic and are felt to be important by the members of the community. However, it is not always the case that other communities have a positive perception of the value of these debates, or that they are even aware of them. One of the reasons for this can be language. Spanish archaeologists were content to keep their academic discussions largely within the frontiers of Spain and did not seek to have others engage in it. However, this did not mean that others beyond these borders found it interesting. Even if they had, one factor that impeded most scholars from other countries from acquiring knowledge about internal events in Spanish archaeology was their lack of competence in the language. Despite the fact that in the decades immediately before and after World War II scholars were proficient in a greater number of languages than today, Spanish was not one of the languages that scholars elsewhere prioritised, as it was not considered an international language in academic circles. For most of the nineteenth century the major international language had been French, this being complemented and superseded by German in the last decades of that century. After World War II, French regained some of its lost popularity and the importance of English started to be felt. This meant that there were about thirty years in which scholars had to manage several major languages, since none of them took priority. The delicate balance between the three major languages – French, German and English – finally tipped towards English, which did not begin its ascent as the undisputed international language until the 1970s. This partly explains how, even though the British discourse was almost as insular as that of Spain, archaeological events in Britain in the long term had a greater repercussion on the rest of Europe and beyond.

The above discussion leads to a logical conclusion: that archaeological communities which from a particular point of view can be considered as mainstream can also be judged to be minority from a different perspective. It could be suggested that the duality between mainstream and minority archaeologies should not be seen as a duality but rather as a continuum. One of the ways of looking into this is to explore the issue of the value given to the research produced in the other archaeological community and how this affects its reception. To a large extent one could propose that the credibility given to the scholarship produced in one particular country

partly depends on preconceived ideas about the worth of that country, rather than on the intrinsic value of the knowledge *per se*, although these ideas can be challenged and modified.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

Biographies, correspondence, nationalism and knowledge transmission are only four of the many aspects dealt with in this book. It has not been an easy task to come to grips with them all in a single volume; to have to change the focus of analysis from the minute detail of the relationship between two scholars over many years to the grand narrative in which this human interaction took place. However, doing this has allowed new, revealing perspectives to emerge on the production and reception of new ideas and proposals made by archaeologists of different nationalities. This final chapter will attempt to summarise the main themes raised throughout the different chapters of this work, mainly within the context of the geographies of knowledge.

Geographies, networks and the individual

This book has looked into the geographies of knowledge, paying particular attention to the mechanisms and networks that allow the international transmission of both ideas and practices linked to archaeology as an academic discipline. It has also examined the locations of the interactions that make it possible for this transmission to occur and the media used. Thirdly, the examination of transmission has been linked to that of reception, i.e. what happens when knowledge is received by another community and whether it has an impact or is ignored. A final aspect assessed in this book relates to production and whether the academics' geographical context, i.e. where they live, influences the production of scientific knowledge. These issues have been discussed on the basis of a specific case study: the production, transmission and reception of knowledge that took place between the British and Spanish archaeological communities specialising in prehistory during a period of fifty years, from the 1920s to the 1970s.

Several methods have been followed for this study. On the one hand, the examination of the correspondence in the Pericot Archive (Fons Pericot), now held in the Library of Catalonia, has served as the main basis for reconstructing the practical nature of the relationship formed between Spanish and British prehistorians in general, and in particular between Luis Pericot, for most of his life a celebrated professor at the University of Barcelona, and about a dozen major British scholars of his time. On the other hand, the information obtained from archives has been complemented with that from other sources, mainly data contained in a wide array of different publications. An analysis has been undertaken of the written academic work generated by a selection of the major figures discussed in the book, in order to examine the geographies they covered. In addition, both translations and reviews of major works published in the other country have been investigated in order to provide an alternative perspective on the exploration of the international transmission of knowledge between different geographies. Finally, returning to the information obtained from the correspondence, specific data, such as that related to lectures given by the scholars being studied, have also been inspected in order to discuss academic geographies in relation to authority, prestige and impact.

The geographical study of the transmission of knowledge between Britain and Spain from the 1920s to the 1970s, and of its production and reception, has been contextualised in its contemporary social, political and institutional framework in Part I of the book. In the field of prehistoric archaeology this was a crucial period regarding the institutionalisation of the discipline, mainly through the integration of its teaching in the university curriculum. The transmitters of knowledge discussed in this book belonged to the first generation of university professionals lecturing on prehistoric archaeology. In Britain they have recently been grouped under the name of the Golden Generation (or 'Heroic Band', the 'Radicals' or 'Young Turks'), a title that has also been applied in Chapter 2 to those who institutionalised prehistoric archaeology in Spain during the same period. These two groups, as well as others from elsewhere in Europe, formed networks at a national level, and then linked with each other in major international networks. The members of the Golden Generation were responsible for redefining the theoretical and practical understanding of the discipline, mainly because, as the trainers of the new generation of practitioners, they were in an ideal position to influence those who came after them. Generally speaking, their youth at the time they became professionals meant that the model they established became

paradigmatic for almost half a century, until they reached the age of retirement. They taught about the cultural-historical method and developed and introduced innovative excavation techniques (the definitive integration of stratigraphic control in excavations, the Wheeler method, the recovery of samples for an ever-increasing range of scientific analyses, etc.). Their way of understanding and practising their discipline was further communicated to others through the new journals they established and in which they and their students published. Antiquity and Ampurias are good examples of this.

The university was not the only institutional basis from which they predicated their way of doing prehistory: this generation was also responsible for having created national associations such as the Prehistoric Society and the Council for British Archaeology in Britain and the National Congresses of Archaeology in Spain. Crucially, in addition to these, they also helped to set up others at an international level, replacing those established almost a century earlier. In this way, national networks became linked internationally into a macro-network of relationships. The institution that epitomised this mesh of interpersonal relations at an international level was the CISPP (the International Congresses of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences, transformed into the UISPP, a union, from 1956), whose main executive posts they controlled for many decades. The networking taking place at the meetings of the CISPP every four years, and at those of its executive board every two years, was further supported by an array of international projects under the CISPP/UISPP umbrella. These included Inventaria Archaeologica and international commissions to discuss specific subjects such as megaliths and rock art. Alternative international meetings, such as the International Summer Courses of Ampurias so often mentioned in Pericot's correspondence, were also organised.

The creation and development of national and international networks of prehistoric archaeologists did not take place in a vacuum and can be contextualised in the socio-political framework of the time. The politics of the period were marked by several wars, changes in the political mood and a growth of the middle classes and mass politics, all in the midst of a trend towards the strengthening of nationalism as a political ideology. If funds were found for prehistoric archaeology to be taught at universities and for its practitioners to be able to meet at international gatherings, it is because it was felt that the information provided by prehistoric archaeologists was needed for a full and correct understanding of the history of the nation.

The impression obtained from the wider perspective – the discussion of the nationalist context of institutionalisation and the existence of power groups within academia – vividly contrasts with a much narrower viewpoint looking at the personal circumstances of each of the individuals who formed part of the network. In addition to the biographical details provided in the introductory paragraphs relating to each major correspondent in Chapters 4 to 6, a much more detailed biographical account is given of Luis Pericot in Chapter 3. This compensates for the lack of information about him in the letters, as he rarely kept a copy of his own missives and we are deprived of a source that would have revealed much about him. The preparation of Pericot's biography was an interesting exercise as it quickly became clear that there is tension between the grand picture summarised above and the small detail found in anyone's biography. Biographies show that scholars are very rarely motivated by grand schemes, although they see the opportunities opened up by them and use such occasions to their advantage, if they so wish and if the circumstances allow. However, the way they do so cannot be predicted, as it depends on a combination of many factors, including personal background, personality, decisions taken on the basis of some of their other selves rather than the academic one, as well as particular political developments in the local, regional and national communities in which they live. In our case study, Pericot's example has helped us to understand the negotiations that led to him being successful as a scholar in academic networks during certain periods, only to fail in others. His example has also allowed us see the effect that events occurring in one network can have on another – including the interrelationship between national and international networks. It looks as if his attempt to take a neutral stance towards different networks in Spain backfired and, as the correspondence shows, his problems at home match a reduction in the importance of his role in international circles from the mid-1950s and especially from the 1960s.

The analysis of the correspondence

Part II of this book has focused on the analysis of the correspondence sent by British archaeologists to the Catalan prehistorian, Luis Pericot. From the earlier epistolary exchanges exclusively with his closest academic circle in Barcelona, the geographical range of his correspondence widened in the early 1920s to include Britain. There he established links with a select number of scholars, most of them prehistoric archaeologists like

himself and all without exception based in a very specific area of Britain, mainly the south of England and, more specifically, in the so-called Golden Triangle of London, Cambridge and Oxford. Following an initial intention of visiting the National Museum of Scotland during the Christmas holidays of 1925-26 (FP- James Richardson, 14-12-1926) and having met the director of the National Museum of Antiquities of Wales in England (probably London) at that time (FP- Cyril Fox, 12-9-1927), he never corresponded with any scholars living in Edinburgh, Cardiff or Durham, three cities where archaeology was also taught from early on. There are two possible readings of this. On the one hand, one could argue that he gave priority to the places in Britain where university teaching in general and archaeology in particular had already been institutionalised for several centuries and decades respectively and therefore were perceived as more prestigious. On the other hand, it is also true that the British prehistorians involved in international relations were based in London, Cambridge and Oxford and that this had already been the case when Pericot first arrived in England. Also, one should not forget that he built his network of academic relationships on a pre-existing framework constructed by others, such as Bosch Gimpera and John Myres, who had been professionally active for longer. From an early emphasis on London, it is possible to see how the development of the teaching of prehistoric archaeology in Cambridge and the increase in the number of professionals there turned Pericot's attention to it. Oxford, however, never reached the same level in terms of numbers and therefore in links established by Pericot, mainly due to the weakness of the university's institutionalisation of prehistoric archaeology until very late in his life. However, for the purposes of this volume, Oxford's role in the development of international congresses – the CISPP and the CISAE – balances out the information to cover and makes it worth of a chapter of its own.

The letters kept in the Pericot Archive contain a wealth of information. The analysis of their content, however, has shown that there is a great deal of variation between authors and, to a much more limited extent, between letters written by the same authors. Some scholars wrote long letters – Hawkes being the most enthusiastic in this respect, followed by Childe – whereas others were more economical with words. The emphasis on topics dealt with in the letters depended on the writer's personality and the circumstances. This specificity has led to an interesting range of issues to be discussed for each correspondent in Chapters 4 to 6. Despite this diversity, however, in this section the major trends and commonalities will be highlighted.

The first trend revealed by the correspondence relates to the rarity of exchanges of information about archaeological debates. Specific queries and observations about particular types of objects were exceptional, although they can be found in Childe and also, to a certain extent, in Caton Thompson and Daniel. The first of these was the only one to ask Pericot specific questions about items such as rotary querns. This type of enquiry was not unusual in Childe, as the reading of his letters to others, such as Myres, suggests, but they were not common in other correspondents, who may have been reluctant to reveal areas of weakness in their knowledge. Commenting on archaeological material was, however, more acceptable, and examples are found not only in Childe (for example, when he remarked on the presence of axes and adzes in Iberian megalithic tombs), but also in Caton Thompson when she referred to the new Aterian and Solutrean discoveries in one of her letters, and in Glyn Daniel writing about French megaliths. However, the impression is that most scholars did not consider letters as a suitable medium for obtaining information about archaeological material culture or for commenting on it; the appropriate place for this was in publications. In this respect, it is interesting to note that the term "culture" was included relatively often in the correspondence, but no discussion about the particulars of specific cultures was added, with the exception again of Childe, who used terms such as culture cradles, Kulturkreise, cultural changes and the like.

The scarcity of observations regarding archaeological material culture and cultures in the letters contrasts with the much more frequent observations relating to chronology. This fits in well with the mood of the time. Chronology was considered to be so important that jobs, such as Zeuner's post of an honorary lectureship in Geochronology at the Institute of Archaeology of London in 1936, were created for it. Many letters in the Pericot Archive provide evidence that this issue was of major concern. In the letters we find references to chronological tables that had either been published (Burkitt and Childe 1932) or were pending publication (Hawkes 1947-48) and to books on the subject (Zeuner 1945; 1946). Also, the correspondence gives us the titles of the lectures that were delivered about it, for example, two in 1947 given by Childe in Madrid on "Fresh Data for the Prehistoric Chronology of Atlantic Europe" and by Hawkes at Ampurias on "Chronologie Hallstattienne: L'Italie et l'Europe Centrale et Occidentale". The epistolary exchange also reflects the chronological debates in the early 1950s, before radiocarbon became a reliable dating method. This led to prehistoric archaeologists dividing into those believing in long chronologies, including Pericot, and those who favoured short

chronologies. The ensuing debates are mentioned and encouraged in Daniel and Hawkes' correspondence.

The letters also contain few comments about archaeological techniques, although some of those that are mentioned are about issues as basic as the need to show scales in photographs of archaeological material (something Hawkes noted that Pericot was not good at). The importance given to new types of analysis in archaeological excavations, such as of fauna, is pointed out in letters like Childe's to Pericot in 1947, when he urged him to become involved in this. There is also a passing comment on stratigraphy (a pre-Beaker stratum in the southern French megaliths of Boun-Marcou), although it is not discussed further.

In contrast to the lack of comments relating to archaeological debates, the correspondence often touches on one of the major practices that facilitated the transmission of information from one country to another: the exchange of publications. The scholars allude to their own publications with relative frequency, sometimes in letters that were sent together with the article or book concerned. All the scholars who wrote a relatively large number of letters to Pericot (thirty or more), as well as some of the other less frequent correspondents, sent him some of their publications or mentioned them in their missives. Pericot frequently sent some of his own publications, not only to them, but also to several British libraries, including the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland and the Society of Antiquaries of London. This was how Pericot's extensive report on the Parpalló excavations (Pericot 1942b) reached England in the early 1940s and it explains why the institutions were so keen to invite him to lecture in April 1946 (something that was facilitated by Childe's mediation).

Despite the exchange of publications, it is extremely rare to find in the letters any mention by correspondents acknowledging the addressee's influence on their own work. However, this is precisely what Hawkes did in June 1956 when he explained that his article "Archaeological Theory and Method: Some Suggestions from the Old World" (Hawkes 1954) could be considered "as some small sequel" to Pericot's discourse for his official entry into the Royal Academy of Letters of Barcelona in 1948 (Pericot 1948b). However, given that Hawkes and Pericot had just experienced the best period of their friendship, the extent to which the Oxford professor's comments were a strategy to strengthen their relationship is a moot point. Despite this, we can allow for the possibility that Pericot's work had exerted some influence. Hawkes himself explains

in the introduction to the article that his was a reaction to Walter Taylor's *A Study of Archaeology* (Taylor 1948), and his article can be better understood as the result of his stay in Harvard in autumn 1953 (and also perhaps influenced by his former wife, as the letters tell us that her 1950 lecture in Ampurias was on the Philosophy of Archaeology).

One of the main means of conveying information on developments in research was through lectures and the letters give us interesting information about how they were organised. The correspondence provides us with the titles of the lectures given by Pericot in Britain and by his British colleagues in Spain (information that has been compiled in Figs. 7.10 and 7.11). The subject of lectures will be fully dealt with in the next section, but one related minor matter that appears in the letters on several occasions may tell us more than would appear at first sight. I am referring to the technology used to illustrate lectures. The use of slides, which had started in the nineteenth century with lantern slides (Harlan and Price 2003), was generalised by the period this book deals with. However, in the late 1940s and early 1950s the correspondence shows that there were problems with the size of those used in England. During these years, Childe was insistent in this matter, perhaps hinting that he had had problems in the past lecturing on the continent. Probably because of this, Burkitt specified the size of his slides: 2 ¼ x 3 ¼ inches. Clark was the only one still using the outmoded term lantern slides. It seems that in the 1960s the technology had changed in Britain, as Hawkes explained that his collection was monochrome and for the most part old and needed renewing. Shortly after, together with Pericot he organised an exchange of slides displaying archaeological material culture from their respective countries. This change in technology is interesting in its own right, as it seems to indicate that the growing internationalisation of academia and the economic world may have been behind it, globalising technologies that had previously been purely national.

In addition to the limitations of technology and how these were resolved, comments on lectures also highlight another hurdle that had to be surmounted, the language barrier. One of the major problems in the exchange of information between the two countries was that the scholars spoke different languages and neither Spanish nor English had acquired the role of major international languages in the period under study. At that time most scholars used either French or German as the lingua franca, although French was favoured in Spain and seemingly also in Britain. French was, therefore, the language normally used by British archaeologists

to give lectures in Spain. On some occasions Pericot's British colleagues took advantage of his knowledge of English and asked him to translate. One example of this was the talk Clark gave during his visit to Spain in 1952. Pericot, however, was a polyglot and able to lecture in English. Understandably, the correspondence is silent about whether his English was good enough to be understood – although since he was asked to lecture on several occasions we can assume it was. Other scholars did not share Pericot's linguistic talents. An example of this is mentioned by Childe in one of his letters, when he gossiped that it had been extremely difficult to follow a seminar given by the Italian archaeologist Pia Laviosa Zambotti in London in 1949. Obviously, as in lectures, the language barrier was also a problem in publications. Burkitt and Caton Thompson make explicit mention of this on a couple of occasions. They thanked Pericot for having sent his *Primitive Spain** (1950), an overview of Spanish prehistory, but the former exclaimed "If only it had been written in English!!" (FP- Burkitt, 27-6-1951), while the latter was more 6diplomatic, saying "only wishing my Spanish were less imperfect" (FP- Caton Thompson 29-1-1951).

Knowledge was also passed on during visits to archaeological museums and sites located in the other country. Museum visits are mentioned by all the main protagonists of this book. In fact, denial or difficulty of access to collections was considered a major failure and a sign that the archaeology of the area was in disarray. This was the reason for Hawkes' criticism of the archaeology of southern France and Portugal in 1949. As regards sites, Pericot often travelled to Valencia to show the Cave of Parpalló to a range of visitors, including, as the letters indicate, British scholars such as Childe, Garrod, Waechter and, most likely, Clark and Zeuner. The personal experience of being at a site was a very effective means of advertising its significance and, in more general terms, the importance of the archaeology undertaken in the country as a whole. Hawkes' comments after his stay in Ampurias in 1947 are a good example of this ("I obtained a most happy impression of the work of archaeology which you are all doing, especially at Ampurias, and look forward eagerly to reading more of it, as your periodicals and books reach me, and to making it better known among my colleagues and students, some of whom I hope will visit you in time soon to come, and gain great profit" (FP- Hawkes, 21-9-1947)). Nevertheless, it is important to point out that Pericot was selective in the effort he invested in explaining sites in situ to visitors (in the case of Parpalló this meant a journey of some four hundred kilometres or two hundred and sixty-five miles). In contrast to the deference he exhibited

with professionals, others found a very different attitude. not as keen to show the site to others interested in seeing and studying it, such as the Cambridge PhD students Thompson and Davidson. He even prevented others, including Dortch and Higgs, from becoming involved in its study.

The lack of engagement with students from other countries (or indeed from their own country) as regards showing them archaeological sites in person does not mean that they were ignored. On the contrary, the correspondence indicates that students were generally well treated. However, an important factor in making this happen was the status of the person who wrote the letter of introduction and to whom (or to what network) this letter was addressed. Students going to colleagues who were not part of the network were not considered (this may be why Evans, who had tried to work with Martínez Santa-Olalla, finally moved on to other shores; and also perhaps part of the reason why MacWhite, after his stay in Spain with Santa-Olalla, had such difficulty in finding a job in archaeology). The letters include introductions for Oxford students by Hawkes and for Cambridge students generally by Daniel and sometimes by Clark. On some occasions they also asked Pericot to introduce their British students to other colleagues in his network with whom Oxford and Cambridge scholars had no links. Pericot also seems to have provided introductory letters for Catalan students, such as Antonio Arribas during his study trip to England. While in Barcelona, British students were usually invited by Pericot to dine at his favourite restaurant in Barcelona, which indicates a willingness to treat them well, as this deference was commonly given to scholars of a higher status. These invitations have several readings. Firstly, they helped to further reinforce Pericot's international network, through what we could call a sympathetic relationship (he was treating his British colleagues well by taking care of their students). Also, his regard towards students was a sort of deferred reciprocity by which he was treating others in the way he had been treated as a student and young professional. Thirdly, one should not forget that investing in students was also a way to create links with possible future full members of the network. Finally, if the students published – and one always expects them to produce written accounts of their work – references to his own work would be expected.

Students were also the reason why some scholars were temporally accepted within a national network of another country. Thus, Clark arranged for Pericot to be officially nominated as Thompson's supervisor from October 1951 to March 1952 and two decades later he was also

involved in Davidson's supervision, although perhaps on a less official level. In 1966, Pericot was also asked to act as the external examiner of Guillermo Roselló Coll, a student at the Institute of Archaeology. The organisation of archaeological projects in the other country also led to some higher contacts, sometimes required by law, between different national networks. Thus, in the 1970s all foreign teams working in Spain, and therefore also Higg's teams for the Early Agriculture Project, had to be supervised by a Spanish archaeologist. Given the lack of resources in Spain, this role was usually filled by young graduate students. This specific example appears to have convinced one of the young Spaniards (Francisco Burillo) about the importance of landscape archaeology and years later he organised a series of meetings on the subject, the first being held in the early 1980s.

International congregations were one of the most effective places for the transmission of knowledge between members of academic communities from different countries. These were held relatively often and it is possible to see members of the same group meeting in some sort of combination from location to location (see, for example, Fig. 6.3). There was a sense of camaraderie indicated in the letters when one of them was unable to attend or did not go because the nature of the meeting was not related to their area of study. The absentees usually sent regards to common friends. Thus, in 1943 Childe assured Pericot that he had passed on his greetings to some of the other British archaeologists (all Pericot's correspondents) as requested and that they had given theirs in return. In some other cases postcards were sent by those at the conference to someone who was not present and this is how Pericot received one from San Remo from some of the participants at a meeting in December 1951. Burkitt also used a postcard to ask Pericot to give his regards to Leakey at the I Pan-African Congress (FP- Burkitt 2-1-1947).

The International Congress of Pre- and Protohistoric Sciences (CISPP, UISPP from 1956) was the gathering most often mentioned in the correspondence and one that became a key meeting point for the international network Pericot belonged to. As explained in Chapter 6, the CISPP emerged as an idea in Barcelona in 1929, was organised by an international group of academic friends in 1931 and held its first meeting in 1932. The main actors in this book only helped in this process either as students or as very young professionals. Because of their age, therefore, the Pericot Archive does not contain the letters detailing the daily negotiations that led to the formation of this powerful and long-lasting

network. A great deal of this information can be found in documents dated to the interwar period, especially the late 1920s, in the Myres archive and probably in the other surviving archives of the main actors, including those of Bosch Gimpera and Bersu. Soon after its founding, however, Pericot and the others became involved and actively worked for its continuity and expansion. One method used to enlarge the network formed on the basis of the CISPP was to ask the advice of existing allies on the suitability of particular candidates for a post or directly requesting them to recommend names for specific roles. An early example of this is found in a letter sent by Myres to Pericot in December 1933 asking for his advice on which of three Spanish scholars mentioned to him to represent Spain as CISAE secretaries was the most appropriate (which resulted in Pericot becoming one of them). Pericot received a similar request almost twenty years later, when Kendrick solicited his advice on who to invite to represent Spain at a congress on museums in London in 1950.

Whereas the Pericot Archive is not very useful for analysing the formation of the CISPP, the opposite is true for the study of its development after World War II. The correspondence received by Pericot contains extremely valuable information that allows us to reconstruct how the CISPP network was rebuilt after the war (a process that had already started before the end of the war (Díaz-Andreu 2009)) and the way it reinforced itself and continued to expand. Fifteen years after the creation of the CISPP, some of the founding fathers, including Myres and Obermaier, had retired or died, and others were in exile (Bersu and Bosch Gimpera). This led to a generational change within the CISPP ranks, with the leading posts now taken on by the founders' former pupils. In this way, Pericot and the other members of his generation became the prime movers behind prehistoric archaeology in Europe. In the correspondence Hawkes appears as one of the main inspirations behind many innovative international proposals made in the CISPP. He was able to do this from his position as a member of the Executive Committee from its creation in 1950 until 1971. Pericot, having become a member of the Executive in 1951 and retiring from it in 1972, was in a similar position. Hawkes' initiative and crucial role in the CISPP comes to the fore in his letters to Pericot in the early 1950s, when the Barcelona professor became the president of the CISPP. This was a crucial time for the CISPP, as it was the period leading towards the CISPP becoming the only international organisation in the field of prehistoric archaeology officially recognised by UNESCO. Partly because of this, the association, in 1956 renamed the UISPP, also organised a series of international projects that defined the main activities undertaken during

the following two or three decades. These became the major international projects in European prehistoric archaeology at the time.

The CISPP was the pinnacle of the international network, but the correspondence also indicates that there were other international events, either linked to the CISPP/UISPP or organised independently, that helped to reinforce the international network formed by Pericot and his colleagues. The one that has proved conspicuous in the letters kept in the Pericot Archive is the International Summer Course of Ampurias. To start with, this was a joint venture with institutions in the southwest of France and the north of Italy, but it soon continued in separate forms in both Spain and Italy. The frequency with which Pericot invited British archaeologists to attend suggests that he was using the courses as a way to strengthen his ties with colleagues elsewhere. His strategy was very effective with Hawkes, although it did not work with others. It was also important for Hawkes as it opened doors for him, not only in Spain, but very likely also in Italy (his attendance at the Florence congress may be related to his having met Italian archaeologists while in Ampurias). It is also interesting to note that Hawkes mentioned that the International Course of Ampurias had inspired the creation of the Limes congresses (which met for the first time in 1949, two years after Hawkes had attended the first Ampurias course). Most of the other international gatherings mentioned in the letters were related to the UISPP, the last being the conference on the history of archaeology organised by Glyn Daniel and Ole Klindt-Jensen in the 1970s. As with Ampurias, invitations were restricted to a select number of colleagues (twenty scholars in this case). However, the fate of this last conference speaks for itself: by the time it took place, Pericot had passed away and before the publication saw the light, one of the organisers had also died (Daniel 1981). It was the end of an era.

Membership of the CISPP inner network was not automatic, nor was it permanent. Young scholars had to be strategic in their approach in order to be accepted and, once in, they had to persist in developing links so that the group continued to consider them a part of it. There is evidence in the letters of the difficulties some scholars had in being accepted into the network. This seems to have been the case of Glyn Daniel until very late in his academic life. On the other hand, some of the correspondents show that it was possible to decide to stop being part of the network. Thus, Kendrick did not hide his growing distancing from prehistoric archaeology in favour of, initially, the early mediaeval period, and finally, the religious

lives of saints. Burkitt was also very open about his time-consuming affairs in local government and his lack of time to attend the CISPP meetings.

Thus the information transmitted in the letters discussed above covered academic debates, helped to advertise publications and to organise lectures, visits to archaeological sites and international gatherings. In addition, although it was not abundant, there was some information about events taking place in the correspondent's own institutions and country. Examples of this are Kendrick's comments about the British Museum and Hawkes' explanation of his negotiations to create the Institute of Archaeology in Oxford. Correspondents were also usually silent with regard to their own professional achievements. There are exceptions, such as the announcement of promotions (Kendrick, Childe, Hawkes and Daniel are examples of this, whereas John Evans' chair was revealed by Clark). Very occasionally there are comments by the correspondents about having received an honour, such as when Zeuner mentioned his election as a foreign member of the Academies of Sciences of Mayence and Halle. In contrast, personal health is often mentioned. From what it can be gathered from the international correspondence among scholars of other countries other than Spain perused in several archives, the thematic pattern exposed above is not unusual.

Geographies of production, transmission and reception

Geography has been the backbone for the chapter division of the correspondence analysis in Part II of the book. The previous section considered the data gathered there and discussed how knowledge moves geographically from one country to another, not only through what is written about archaeological debates in the letters, but also, and most importantly, through the information they provide on other means of conveyance, including visits to sites, lectures and attendance at conferences. Geography has also been the vertebrae of Part III or Chapter 7 of the book. The spotlight again fell on geography, but in this case using not only the correspondence, but also other sources such as publications. The focus was not only on the means of transmission, looking at that issue from a different angle, but also on the production of knowledge and its international reception. A contextualisation of findings in their national and imperial context was useful, as it borrowed a modified classification of Neustupný's (1997-98) concepts of mainstream and minority archaeologies.

In terms of the geographies of production, an examination of the publications produced by a selection of the prehistoric archaeologists looked at in this book has been undertaken in Chapter 7. The aim was to look at whether the scholars' geographies, and in particular their places of residence, had an impact on their research interests and fields of publication. In this respect, the analysis tried to ascertain whether there were differences from country to country and whether any such differences affected national and international networks. On the basis of the analysis of Pericot, Childe and Hawkes' publications, it has been argued that, despite at one level there being a link between where archaeologists live and their research, there is no formula to forecast the specific interests particular individuals will pursue throughout their academic lives. Firstly, given the geopolitical context in which they develop their careers and the nationalistic and imperialistic ideals of their community, it is possible to predict to a certain extent a range of fields scholars may enter. But even if this is somehow possible to forecast, only a limited prediction is feasible, given the personal way in which grand ideologies are individually negotiated and in practice flexibly understood. Secondly, the difficulty increases with other even less predictable factors and still others which cannot be predicted at all. Among the first are factors that may still be connected to nationalism, but are less foreseeable than the pure geographic attachment; these include funding, linguistic connection and the ability to communicate in other languages. Thirdly, other factors are almost completely unpredictable; these include the attachment to specific areas due to personal experiences. There also is opportunism which, by definition, cannot be anticipated. Thus, while it is logical to understand that most of Pericot's research production was related to Spain, and more specifically to areas where Catalan was spoken, the attention he paid to particular areas in Catalonia and not to others, as well as to other areas in the world, would have been more difficult to conjecture. To have guessed in his early years that he would develop an interest in Africa and America would have been fanciful. In another case, that of Childe, although we can appreciate why he wrote about Eurasia (he was trained in an imperial tradition that had developed a line of previous work on this), it would have been impossible in his early days to imagine the particular geographical areas he later considered in his work and the different ways in which his research interests changed throughout his life. Thus, from the analysis of the geographies dealt with in publications, it has been argued that, with regard to the link between the geographies in which scholars live and those on which they carry out research, beyond a basic

level of reasonable speculation it is not feasible to surmise scholars' future interests in particular geographical areas.

In addition to the geographies of production, the analysis of international geographies of knowledge has reconsidered the geographies of transmission. The discussion has gone beyond that developed in the previous section of this chapter. In this new analysis, the emphasis has been on the funding and activities associated with international travel. In this case the focus has not been on looking at the medium by which ideas travelled, an issue covered above, but on who was keen for these ideas to travel and eager to facilitate these exchanges. Here it is assumed that the physical and financial effort put into travelling to another country is directly related to the credibility the traveller gives to the scholarly production of that country, especially when planned meetings with members of the other community take place as a result. The comparison between Pericot's trips to Britain and those of his British colleagues to Spain indicates a clear disparity. It seems apparent that Pericot was much more interested in being acknowledged in Britain than any of his correspondents were to be known in Spain, as he travelled to Britain many more times than any of his British correspondents went to Spain. This difference with regard to interest in the other country is further underlined when the funding of lecture tours is taken into account. Whereas it seems that Spanish funds paid for Pericot's trips and indirectly therefore for the honour of him lecturing in Britain, this did not occur to the same extent among his British correspondents. In a high proportion of cases, Spanish funds paid for British speakers to lecture in Spain and, therefore, it seems fair to assume that British archaeologists would have only exceptionally lectured in Spain had they not been funded for it. This demonstrates once again that Spanish archaeologists and Pericot in particular held British archaeology in a higher regard than their British counterparts did Spanish archaeology. With a few exceptions, they only paid to go to Spain when they went on holiday, to do their own research in unmixed teams (i.e. those that did not include Spaniards) and to visit sites that could then be mentioned in their publications. An issue that has been noted but not explored in sufficient depth is the emergence of the USA as a more attractive country than Britain for Spanish archaeologists.

The third geography considered beyond production and transmission is that of reception. This has been explored through an analysis of the reviews and translations made of publications issued in the other country. The imbalance found in transmission has also come to the fore here. Both

reviews and translations have in common that a decision has to be made about the quality of the scholarship and the usefulness of the research by others in one's own community. In particular, reviews reveal the selection made in one country of the scholarly production published in others. The reviews printed in the journals analysed in Chapter 7, Antiquity and Ampurias, show that scholars in Britain and Spain only paid limited attention to each other's archaeology, although more notice was taken in Spain of British archaeology than the other way round. The translations confirm the unequal esteem between Spanish and British archaeology, as Spanish-speaking publishers paid greater attention to the scholarly production of Britain than British publishers did to their Spanish-speaking counterparts.

It is useful to see these differences in the perception of academic value within the framework of nationalism and imperialism and other ideas highlighted in recent historiography in relation to these grand ideologies, such as resistance. The nature of research in Spain and Britain differed: it was nationalistic in the former and imperial in the latter. In Britain prehistoric archaeologists moved from a narrow geographical focus at the start of the twentieth century to a much larger, global one . In contrast, with minor exceptions, research on prehistoric archaeology in Spain remained restricted to the country's borders. One could argue that the infrastructure of imperialism facilitated the ascendance of British prehistoric archaeology to an influential position in world archaeology. This position was further reinforced by an external factor: the increasing international acceptance of English as the universal language – the lingua franca – and its worldwide imposition from the late 1970s. In addition, nationalism brought its own limitations. For Pericot, living on the periphery – geographically speaking – of a centralised state run by Madrid brought some disadvantages. A clear one was the funding for archaeological fieldwork, as the decisions were taken more than 600 kilometres (almost 400 miles) away. This obviously reduced the Catalans' ability to negotiate a good slice of the state subsidies for archaeological fieldwork. They resolved this problem by looking for alternative sources of financial support. Pericot contributed by seeking out funding on his travels. He finally found it, not in Britain, but through a rich sponsor in the USA, William Bryant. He also successfully applied to the Wenner Gren Foundation. Finally, another effect of nationalism and imperialism on the information obtained from the correspondence relates to students undertaking projects in the other country. Although Pericot managed, mainly through his British colleagues, to attract several students to embark

on research into Spanish archaeology, no Spanish doctoral student ever pursued a project on British archaeology.

The description of a particular archaeological community as nationalistic or imperialistic does not necessarily tell us how they perceive the academic authority and value of others, nor about how others perceive them. Nevertheless, in our case study, the unequal reception given to British archaeology in Spain and Spanish archaeology in Britain seems to indicate some link between ideology and the opinion of the other's worth. Given the strong connection between a triumphant empire and a successful nation in the nineteenth century (Díaz-Andreu 2007d: 211), the international perception of the value of Britain as a nation, an unbeaten colonial power expanding its frontiers, and of Spain, a country then progressively losing its overseas territories, was obviously different. In Europe, the perception of a thriving north versus a failing south became established in the nineteenth century (Baumgart 1982: 72-72). This duality remained in the following decades and was, therefore, inherited by those living in the middle decades of the twentieth century, the period this book deals with.

One would expect individuals to resist unbalanced geographies. However, in the case under scrutiny this is difficult to see. Instead, the findings indicate that scholars assumed the established perception and acted accordingly. Thus, the analysis of the lectures given by Spanish and British prehistorians in each others' countries, mainly in the three decades after World War II, indicates the extent to which scholars assume the values given to their archaeology and direct their practice through them. Both Spanish and British prehistorians chose to talk in scientific venues of the same nature – mainly academic institutions (in lecture rooms located either in universities or at the headquarters of archaeological societies) and similar locations – the most prestigious centres of knowledge in each of the nation-states. Interestingly however, the language of communication, the range of subjects and the effect they had on their audiences all differed. Pericot always spoke in English but, as explained above, his British colleagues apologised for their inability to communicate in Spanish and either spoke in French or had Pericot translate for them. Furthermore, differences are also found in the geographies of speech. Pericot discussed issues relating to Spanish archaeology when he lectured in Britain, something that can be seen as linked its nationalistic nature. In contrast, his British colleagues, educated and trained in an imperial country, had higher geographical aspirations. They included in their discussions much

larger geographies and even attempted to frame Spanish archaeology within a wider context. There is nothing in the letters that explains the mechanisms though which this pattern emerged and through which the protocols of proper behaviour for giving lectures was laid out. It can only be said that they were internalised and considered by the different actors to be the natural and proper way of doing things. It is not possible, therefore, to speak of resistance to the perception of the inferiority of Spanish archaeology, unless Pericot's sheer enthusiasm about British archaeology against all the odds is taken as such.

It is possible to discuss the trends in relation to production, transmission and reception of knowledge, and to link them to academic authority and value, following Neustupný's distinction between mainstream and minority archaeologies. The Czech archaeologist proposed that large academic communities sharing a language and with a strong institutional base are able to establish the basis for the transmission of knowledge among their members through meetings and publications. The interaction is so robust that they do not need to communicate with other communities. In contrast, minority communities are so small and institutionally weak that communication with mainstream archaeologies is needed. However, this communication is never balanced, as archaeologists in minority communities are never considered part of the mainstream community and therefore never form part of its practitioners' strategic alignments (Neustupný 1997-98). Although Neustupný's concept is very powerful, the simplicity of his duality has been challenged in Chapter 7. I argued there that, in practice, there is a large range of possibilities between the ideal mainstream and minority academic communities. This is clear when we realise the mismatch in, on the one hand, the results obtained by looking at the production, transmission and reception of knowledge between Britain and Spain above and, on the other, Neustupný's definition of mainstream that could not be only applied to British archaeology but also to Spanish archaeology. However, once we change Neustupný's definitions to mean the two poles of a continuum of the academic value of archaeological communities in the international arena, his proposals remain poignantly valid.

According to Neustupný's definition, both British and Spanish archaeologies in the period under study can be considered as mainstream, as they were large enough to sustain a discussion circumscribed purely to the existing borders, without considering it necessary to involve other communities. They both had a wide institutional base and a series of publications and

meeting places where exchanges of academic information were possible among their members. However, this simple classification becomes much more complex when, as I have argued, the international value of what each community was doing is taken into account, as it is clear that, in our case study, British and Spanish archaeologies were not considered to be equally prestigious. One of the reasons for this was, as discussed above, the inherited perception of the value of each of these countries, which gave Britain the advantage over Spain. Even before new young members of any national community had started their training in the discipline, they had an understanding of the worth of what was produced in Britain and Spain. A second reason was language – you cannot value what you cannot understand. The lack of linguistic competence in Spanish of many archaeologists around the world put at a disadvantage (and still does) whatever was and is undertaken by the archaeological communities working and publishing in that language. The status of English as one of the languages increasingly accepted as the main means of international communication after World War II, and since the late 1970s the main one, immediately gave an advantage to all those large academic communities that had English as their mother tongue. Thus, developments in Britain were much more likely to be communicated elsewhere and therefore have a greater impact on the development of the discipline.

In conclusion

In a nutshell, the study of the geographies of knowledge undertaken in this book has been based on the information gathered in correspondence and publications of a group of British and Spanish archaeologists active from the 1920s to the 1970s. The focus has been on the production of science in the field of prehistoric archaeology and its transmission to and reception in other countries. It has been argued that looking at these three issues from the perspective of geography provides revealing results. Starting with the production, the attempt to forecast what geographies will be researched by archaeologists living in a particular area is doomed to failure, although some trends can be indicated on a very general, basic level. It is clear that, at the local level, scholarly production is clearly influenced by a series of factors which, at nation-state level, range from nationalism to imperialism. However, there are other factors that are more difficult to deal with because of their private nature. These include personal attachment and the perception of distance and linguistic attachment, as well as others such as funding, the global use of particular languages as the means of international communication and, finally, opportunism.

Having been produced locally, knowledge then travels to members of the academic community living elsewhere. Its international conveyance has received a great deal of attention in this book, with an examination of correspondence, as well as of reviews, translations and international travel and lectures. Several means that allow knowledge to travel from place to place have been pointed out: correspondence, publications, translations, reviews, lectures, visits to sites and international gatherings. However, knowledge can travel, but it is not necessarily received. To assess the international reception of knowledge, an examination of three of the means of transmission – translations, reviews and lectures – has been undertaken. It has thus been pointed out that there was an imbalance in the degree of reception in Britain and Spain that has been understood as a result of the greater value given to British archaeology over that of Spain. This result has been linked to the discussion of mainstream and minority archaeologies, understanding this distinction not as a dual classification as (Neustupný 1997-98) did, but as a way of looking at them as a continuum between ideal, extreme mainstream and minority archaeologies. Thus, although both British and Spanish archaeology can be considered to be mainstream, one can observe that British archaeology moved closer to the purer mainstream during the period under study, whereas Spanish archaeology did not. This again further shaped the geographies of perception regarding the value of the research undertaken in each of the countries. It has been argued above that the perception of the academic authority of the research carried out by particular national archaeological traditions is only partially linked to their intrinsic quality and partially to pre-existing ideas about the importance of the country. Individuals such as Pericot assume these and can attempt (or not) to challenge and change them, but more often than not they try to use them to their own advantage and perhaps even to the benefit of their own archaeological communities. His example illustrates how geographies of science are charged with identities – imperial, national, personal, gender and the like – and with pre-existing perceptions, that to an extent set limits as to what can and cannot be done in particular scientific areas.

The analysis developed in this book has not only allowed us to better understand many of the main actors in British and Spanish archaeology in the years from 1920 to 1980, but also, importantly, to see them as individuals located in particular national and international geographies. This book has moved beyond existing histories of archaeology in that it has focused on the influence of the international community of scholars on the development of the discipline at the level of individual, national and

international communities. Through a detailed analysis of the communications between certain members of the international community of prehistoric archaeologists, it has been possible to explain similar developments in different parts of Europe and the world. These similarities can be found in the development of archaeological thought, in practices such as fieldwork or the proper ways of illustrating articles and in the development of particular forms of institutional organisation. At the same time, it has been proposed that the international space is not a neutral landscape, but one charged with pre-existing ideas of value and certain others that are developed at the time and allow some national communities to become more internationally influential than others. Scholars move strategically within these international geographies; they understand the limitations and challenges and act accordingly. By their actions they shape their own careers and, through them, further contribute to the changes in the communities they live in. An examination of the careers of both Prof. Luis Pericot and those of his colleagues in the wider international community has resulted in a better understanding of the practicalities that underpinned the development of prehistoric archaeology in Europe in the middle decades of twentieth century.

SHORT BIOGRAPHIES

Alcácer Grau, José (1910-1977). School teacher and amateur archaeologist. Collaborated with the SIP of Valencia (Martí in Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009a: 71-72).

Alcobé y Noguer, Santiago (1903-1977). Professor of Physical Anthropology at the University of Barcelona (1941). Rector (1963-65). Director of the Centre of Animal and Human Genetics of the CSIC.

Almagro Basch, Martín (1911-1984). Assistant Lecturer (1932-34). Librarian in Mahon (Menorca) (1934). Studentship in Austria and Vienna (1935-36). Director of the Archaeological Museum of Barcelona (1939-1963), Director of the SIA (1939). Professor at the University of Barcelona (1939-54). Professor of Prehistory at the University of Madrid (1954-81). Director of the State Office for Archaeological Excavations (1962-1973). Director of the National Archaeological Museum (1968-1981). He set up the journals Ampurias (1939) and Trabajos de Prehistoria (1960).

Antoniewicz, Wlodzimierz (1893-1973). Polish archaeologist, lecturer and professor at the University of Warsaw (1928-1964). Rector of the university (1936 -1939) (Filip 1966/69: vol I, 38).

Aparicio Pérez, José (1943-). Assistant lecturer at the University of Valencia (1971-76). Service of Prehistoric Investigation of Valencia (SIP) (1972-).

Arbman, Holger (1904-1968). Swedish archaeologist, professor at the University of Lund (1945). Specialist in Viking archaeology, he excavated in Greece, France, India and Skåne (Filip 1966/69: vol I, 43).

Arribas Palau, Antonio (1926-2002). Keeper at the Archaeological Museum of Barcelona (1955). Lecturer at the University of Barcelona (1958). Chair of Prehistory at the University of Granada (1964-1979) and the University

of Palma de Mallorca in the Balearic Islands (1979-1991). He married Gloria Trias.

Balsan, Louis Édouard (1903-1988). French amateur archaeologist and speleologist (Constantini 1991).

Ballester Tormo, Isidro (1876-1950). A lawyer by profession and vice president of the Provincial Government of Valencia (1930-31). He developed an interest in Iberian Iron Age archaeology early in the century. Director of the SIP (1927-1950) (Martí in Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009a: 111-3).

Ballesteros Beretta, Antonio (1880-1949). Americanist. Professor of Modern History at the University of Seville (1906) and later professor of Ancient and Medieval History of Madrid (1912). A chair in the history of America was created for him in 1914 (The Hispanic American Historical Review 35 (1) 1955: 100-101).

Banner, János (1888-1972). Hungarian prehistorian. After several years working in museums, he moved to the University of Szeged, becoming a professor in 1937 and taking up a chair at the University Budapest in 1946 (Filip 1966/69: vol I, 86).

Baradez, Jean Lucien (1895-1969). French Air Force colonel and the pioneer of aerial archaeology in France. He worked for the Office of Antiquities of Algeria (Direction des Antiquités de l'Algérie) where he undertook many aerial surveys. He was named Doctor Honoris Causa by the University of Durham.

Barandiarán Ayerbe, Father José Miguel de (1889-1991). Anthropologist and prehistorian, founded the Society of Basque Folklore (Sociedad Eusko Folklore) in 1920. He was the vice-rector of the Seminary of Vitoria (1926). Voluntarily exiled in the French Basque Country, he returned in 1953 to teach at the University of Salamanca. Professor of Basque Ethnology at the University of Navarra (1965-1977). President of the newly revived Society for Basque Studies (Sociedad de Estudios Vascos, Eusko Ikaskuntza) (1976) (Ortiz in Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009a: 115-7).

Beazley, John D. (1885-1970). Classical archaeologist from Scotland, whose academic career was connected to Oxford where he was Professor

of Classical Archaeology (1925-56). He revolutionised the study of Greek vase-painting (Medwid 2000: 30-33).

Beltrán Martínez, Antonio (1916-2006), Professor of Archaeology, Epigraphy and Numismatics at the University of Zaragoza (1949-1981). Director of the Provincial Museum of Fine Arts of Zaragoza (1956-1974) (Pasamar in Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009a: 123-4).

Benoît, Ferdinand (1892-1969). Member of the French School in Rome (1922). Archivist in Arles on his return to France. Cultural adviser in Tunis and Morocco (1928-1932). Lecturer of ancient and mediaeval archaeology at the University of Aix-en-Provence (1936). Co-founder of the Institute of Ligurian Studies. Assistant Keeper of the Archaeological Museum. Director of Historical Antiquities of Provence and Corsica (1942). Director of the Musée Borély of Marseille (1946) (Gran-Aymerich 2001: 62-3).

Bersu, Gerhard (1889-1964). Director of the Römisch-Germanische Kommission (RGK) at Frankfurt am Main in 1931-35. Interned on the Isle of Man as a prisoner of war (1939-1945). Resident in Ireland as professor of archaeology at the Royal Irish Academy of Dublin. Director of the RGK (1950-1964) (Filip 1966/69: vol I, 116; Maischberger 2002: 211-2).

Blanc, Alberto-Carlo (1906-1960). Italian palaeontologist. Lecturer in geology at Pisa (1938) and in ethnology (1940-57) and human palaeontology (1957-60) at the University of Rome. Established the journal Quaternaria (1954). Excavated the Cave of Romanelli and at Monte Circeo (1942). He was one of the organisers of INQUA (Pericot 1962d).

Blanco Freijeiro, Antonio (1923-1991). Studied in Madrid and, as a post-graduate, in Oxford (1947-49), Heidelberg, Bonn (1954-55) and Rome (1956). Lecturer at the University of Madrid (1950-59). Chair of Archaeology at the University of Seville (1959-73) and that of Madrid (1973-88) (Armada in Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009a: 131-2).

Bøe, Prof. Johannes (1891-1971) [Boe, Böe]. The general secretary of the CISPP between (1932-1950) and a member of its executive committee (1954-1962) (Filip 1966/69: (I) 135).

Bonsor Saint-Martin, George (1855-1930). Artist and archaeologist of British nationality. He moved to Spain in 1880, where he focused his attention on the archaeology of Carmona and the rivers Guadalquivir and Genil. He also excavated many other pre-Roman and Roman sites in Andalusia (Maier 1999b).

Bosch Gimpera, Pedro (1891-1974) [Bosch Gimpera, Pere]. Professor of Ancient and Medieval History at the University of Barcelona (1916-1933), and subsequently Chair of Prehistory at the same university (1933-39). In 1939 he left Spain and lived in Oxford (1939-1940), Colombia (1940-1941) and México D.F., where he taught at the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH) and at the Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM). He was head of the Philosophy and Humanities division of UNESCO in Paris (1948-1952) (Gracia in Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009a: 145-7).

Bouffard, Pierre. Swiss archaeologist who was keeper and director (1952-1971) at the Musée d'art et d'histoire in Geneve.

Brea, Luigi Bernabò (1910-1999). High Inspector (soprintendente) of Antiquities of Eastern Sicily, Director of the National Archaeological Museum of Siracusa. High inspector of Antiquities at Liguria (1939-41) (Filip 1966/69: (I) 114; Malone and Stoddart 2000).

Breuil, Henri (1877-1961). French priest and prehistoric archaeologist. Professor at the Catholic University of Fribourg (1905-10) and professor of Prehistoric Ethnography at the Institut de Paléontologie Humaine (1910-29). First Professor of Prehistory at the Collège de France (1929-1947).

Brøgger, Anton Wilhelm (1884-1952) [Broegger, Brogger]. Assistant Keeper at the Stavanger Museum. Professor of archaeology in Oslo and head of the Oldsaksamlingen (National Collection of Antiquities). He was one of the main promoters of the Institute for Comparative Cultural Research (Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning). He conducted research on the Nordic Stone Ages and also co-edited the book on the Viking boat-grave of Oseberg. During World War II he was active in the resistance at Oslo University and imprisoned in Quislings' Grini outside Oslo (Grieg 1953).

Brown, Margaret (maiden name: Smith, Margaret) (1927-2011). Christopher Hawkes´s research assistant (1947-1958). After a few years in Canada (1958-1965), the family moved back to England, where she worked from home for Cambridge University Press as a translator of archaeological works.

Bruce-Mitford, Rupert (1914-1994). British mediaevalist who worked in the British Museum as Assistant Keeper (1938) and Keeper (1954). His most celebrated works were the study of the Sutton Hoo findings and his analysis of the Lindisfarne Gospels (Biddle in Oxford DNB 2004-)).

Carballo García Taboada, Father Jesús (1874-1961). Archaeologist and speleologist, he became the Director of the Provincial Museum of Prehistory of Santander from the 1920s until his death (Salas in Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009a: 174).

Case, Humphrey (1918-2009). A specialist in British and Irish Neolithic and Early Bronze Age, Assistant Keeper (1949) and Keeper (1973) at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford.

Castillo Yurrita, Alberto del (1899-1976). Well-known because of his theories on the Bell Beakers in Europe. One of Bosch Gimpera's disciples, he was Professor of Ancient and Medieval History from 1931 in Santiago and from 1934 in Barcelona. He retired in 1969. Curator at the Archaeological Museum of Barcelona (1932-1950) (Díaz-Andreu in Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009a: 187-8).

Caton Thompson, Gertrude (1893 1985). Studied archaeology at University College, London, after World War I, and later studied at Newham College, Cambridge, where he was an associate and, subsquently, a research fellow. In the late 1920s she excavated Great Zimbabwe. She was the President of the Prehistoric Society (1940-46) and in 1944 was elected to the British Academy (Caton Thompson 1983; Daniel 1986a).

Clark, Grahame (1907-1995). First student to enrol for PG study in Cambridge (1929). Hugo de Balsham Studentship (1930-1932). Assistant Lecturer (1935), Lecturer (1946), and Disney Chair of Archaeology (1952-74). Director of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology (1956-61, 1968-71). Master of Peterhouse College (1973-80) (Fagan 2001: passim; Smith 2009b: ch. 3) (see Chapter 5).

Clarke, David Leonard (1937-1976). Studied at Peterhouse, Cambridge, where he became a fellow in 1966. He was an advocate of processual archaeology. He published Analytical Archaeology (1968), Models in Archaeology (1972) and Spatial Archaeology (1977).

Colominas Roca, José (1883-1959). Institute of Catalan Studies Excavation Service (1915-1923). Worker at the SIA (1925-1959). Keeper at the Archaeological Museum of Barcelona (1934-1959) (Gracia in Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009a: 208-9).

Corrêa, António Augusto Esteves Mendes (1888-1960). Lecturer (1912-21) and professor (1922) of anthropology in the Faculty of Sciences at the University of Porto. He founded and directed the Institute of Anthropology at his university and also the Portuguese Society of Anthropology and Ethnology. Director of the Higher Institute of Overseas Studies (1946) and President of the Portuguese Council for the Geographical Missions and Colonial Research (1946). President of the Geographical Society of Lisbon (1951) (Fabião 1999; Pericot 1962e).

Coulouma, Joseph (1891-1962). French doctor and amateur archaeologist. Specialised in Iron Age and Roman archaeology. He lived in the Perpignan area, in French Catalonia.

Crivelli, Aldo (1907-1981). Swiss archaeologist, inspector of museums and excavations (1944-61) and from 1958 also of monuments (1958).

Culican, William (1928-1984). Specialist in Phoenician archaeology. Lecturer in Classics at the University of Melbourne.

Daniel, Glyn Edmund (1914-1986). Graduated from Cambridge in 1935 and read his PhD in 1938. He became steward of St John's College (1946-55). Assistant lecturer (1946) and full university lecturer in 1948. Professor (1974), Emeritus Professor (1981-86). His research focused on two major topics, megaliths and history of archaeology. Editor of the 'Ancient Peoples and Places' series for Thames and Hudson (1955-86), and of Antiquity (1958-86). TV Personality of the Year in 1955 and director of Anglia Television Ltd (1959-81) (see Chapter 5).

Davidson, Iain. Prehistorian born in Britain. After graduating from Cambridge University, in 1974 he moved to the University of New England, Australia, where he is still based.

Dehn, Wolfgang (1909-2001). German prehistorian. Assistant to Prof. Merhart (1934-43) and from 1943 Professor at the University of Marburg. From 1951 he excavated Heuneburg (Filip 1966/69: vol. I, 274).

Evans, John D. (1925-2011). Gordon Childe's successor in the Chair of European Prehistoric Archaeology at the Institute of Archaeology in London. He later became the Director of the Institute (1975-1989).

Fawtier, Robert (1885- 1966). French Medieval historian. He lectured at the universities of Cairo (1926-1929), Bordeaux and Paris (1949-1958) (Gracia Alonso 2009)

Fernández Buelta, José María (1894-1992). Journalist and amateur archaeologist from Asturias, in the North of Spain.

Fletcher Valls, Domingo (1912-1995). Valencian archaeologist who studied under Pericot. He collaborated with the SIP from 1931, becoming its director (1950-1982). A prehistorian, his best known studies are in the field of Iberian Iron Age archaeology (Martí in Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009a: 275-6).

Fortea Pérez, Javier (1946-2009). Lecturer at the universities of Salamanca and Oviedo (from 1969 and from 1980), and from 1981 Professor of Prehistory at the latter institution. He specialised in Palaeolithic, Epipalaeolithic and prehistoric rock art (Rasilla 2009).

Fox, Aileen (1907- 2005), English archaeologist who read English at Newnham College, Cambridge. In 1933 she married Cyril Fox and together they excavated prehistoric and Roman sites throughout Britain (Fox 2000)

Fox, Sir Cyril Fred (1882-1967). Keeper (1922-26) and Director of the National Museum of Wales (1926-48).

García y Bellido, Antonio (1903-1972). Lecturer (1927-1931) and Professor of Archaeology at the University of Madrid (1931-72). He specialised in Roman archaeology. In 1939 he founded the journal Archivo Español de Arqueología and Hispania Antiqua Epigraphica and promoted Bibliotheca Archeologica Hispanica. From 1951 he directed the CSIC's Instituto de Prehistoria y Arqueología Rodrigo Caro (Alvarez in Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009a: 292-4).

Garrod, Dorothy (1892-1968). British prehistorian. Disney Chair of Archaeology at Cambridge (1939-1952) (see Chapter 5).

Gagnière, Sylvain (1905-1997). After World War II he worked at and then became director of the Archaeological District of Provence and Corsica (1946-1971).

Giménez Reyna, Simeón (1904-1967). Amateur archaeologist. In 1941 he became the Provincial Commissar of Archaeological Excavations of the Province of Malaga. He excavated the caves of La Pileta and Nerja.

Gómez-Moreno y Martínez, Manuel (1870-1970). Worked for the Artistic Catalogues (1900-1913). Professor of Arabic Archaeology at the University of Madrid (1913-1934) and the main promoter of archaeology at the CEH of the JAE. He retired after the Spanish Civil War (Pasamar in Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009a: 305-7).

González Echegaray, Joaquín (1930-). Spanish Prehistorian. Vice-director of the Museum of Prehistory of Santander and director of the Ethnographic Museum of Cantabria.

Graziosi, Paolo (1907-1988), Professor of Prehistory and Anthropology at Florence (1931), Director of the Florence Museum of Prehistory (1954) and of the Italian Institute of Pre- and Protohistory (1960) (Filip 1966/69: (I) 434; Gracia Alonso et al. 2002: 256).

Grimes, William Francis (1905-1988). Welsh archaeologist, specialist in Iron Age and Roman archaeology in London and Wales. Chairman of the Royal Commission for Ancient Monuments in Wales and director of the Institute of Archaeology (1956-75). He was also the director of the Museum of London (see Chapter 4).

Guyan, Walter Ulrich (b. 1911). Swiss archaeologist. Director of the Museum of Schaffhausen from 1942 and also lecturer at the University of Zürich.

Hawkes, Christopher (1905-1992), Assistant Keeper at the British Museum (from 1928) and later Chair of European Archaeology at Oxford (1946-1972) (see Chapter 6).

Hawkes, Jacquetta (1910-1996). Née Hopkins, archaeologist and populariser, vice-president of the Council for British Archaeology 1949-52. OBE 1952. She married Christopher Hawkes in 1933, but the marriage was dissolved in 1953.

Hawkes, Sonia (1933-1999), Anglo-Saxon archaeologist, curator of the Scunthorpe Museum (1958-59), research assistant at the Oxford Institute of Archaeology (1959-73) and university lecturer (1973-84) (Champion 2004-06).

Héléna, Philippe (1897-1961). Archivist of Narbonne, and Keeper of the Museum of History of Man at Narbonne (1961, BSPF 58: 514-5, Pericot 1962c).

Hemp, Wilfrid J. (1882-1962). Joined the Ministry of Public Works as Inspector of Welsh monuments and in 1913 became secretary of the Monuments' Board. From 1928 he was Secretary of the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments for Wales and Monmouth. He retired in 1946. Interested in monuments, heraldry and genealogy of Wales as well as the archaeology of Mallorca.

Henri-Martin, Germaine (1902-1975). Learned archaeology from her father and, after his death in 1936, took over his work on Neanderthals in the Laboratory that was then attached to the École Practique des Hautes Études. She assisted in the excavations of La Quina and discovered the Fontéchevade skull. Maître de Recherche of the CNRS in 1963 (Marquer 1975).

Hoyos Sáinz, Luis de (1868-1951). Anthropologist and folklorist, he was a teacher and lecturer in a variety of posts. He founded the Museum of the Spanish People in 1934 (Ortiz in Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009a: 333-4).

Huzayyin, Soliman A. (1909-1999). Egyptian geographer and archaeologist. After his graduation from the Egyptian University (1929) he undertook an MA in Geography at Liverpool (1933) and a PhD at Manchester (1935). At Cairo University he held the posts of Lecturer in Geography (1934) and Assistant Professor (1942). He established the geography department at Alexandria University but in 1951 moved back to Cairo. He then became the first rector of Asuit University (1955-1965) and was appointed Minister of Culture (1965) (Abulezz 1999).

Jalhay, Father Eugénio (1891-1950). Portuguese archaeologist and Jesuit priest who excavated the Copper Age sites of Alapraia and Vila Nova de São Pedro and the Iron Age site of Sanfins (Grande Enciclopedia Portuguesa e Brasileira 1935: 142).

Jannoray, Jean (1909-1958). Member of the French School at Athens. From 1942 Director of Historical Antiquities of Languedoc-Rouissillon (Gran-Aymerich 2001: 362).

Jazdzewski, Konrad (1908-1985). Lecturer at Poznan and Warsaw universities, Chair in Prehistory at Wilna University (1939). After WW2 he served as director of the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography in Łódź (1945-1978). He also lectured at the Łódź University as associate professor and from 1959 as full professor (Antiquaries Journal 66 (1986), 499).

Jordá Cerdá, Francisco (1914-2004). Professor of Archaeology, Epigraphy and Numismatics at Salamanca University (1962), moving years after to the chair in prehistory. He began the journal Zephyrus (Fano in Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009a: 360-2).

Keller-Tarnuzzer, Karl (1891-1973), curator of the Thurgauischen Kantonalen Museum Frauenfeld in Switzerland (Filip 1966/69: vol I, 586).

Kendrick, Thomas D. (1895-1979). Assistant (1922), Assistant Keeper (1928), Keeper (1938), and Director of the British Museum and Principal Librarian (1950-59). His interests shifted from prehistory and antiquarianism to early mediaeval archaeology and finally to theology and hagiography (Bruce-Mitford 1991: 445) (see Chapter 4).

Kingsford, Hugh Sadler (1878-1944). Amateur interested in mediaeval art. Assistant Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries (1910-1943) (C.P. 1945).

Klindt-Jensen, Ole (1918-1980). Danish prehistorian. Professor of Northern and European archaeology at the University of Aarhus (1961). Director of the Museum of Prehistory of Aarhus (1961) (Filip 1966/69: vol. 1, 608).

Kühn, Herbert (1895-1980). German prehistorian. Professor at Cologne (1929-1935) and Mainz (1946-1956). He specialised in Palaeolithic rock art, writing Auf den Spuren des eiszeitmenschen (1953) and Die Felsbilder Europas (1952) (Filip 1966/69: vol. 1, 655).

Lamboglia, Nino (1912- 1977). Italian archaeologist. A fascist supporter, he set up and directed the Istituto di Studi Liguri (1937-1977) (Gandolfi 2004; Mannoni nd).

Lantier, Raymond (1886-1980). Member of the École des Hautes Études Hispaniques of Madrid (1913-14). Inspector of Antiquities and Arts in Tunisia (1921-26). Keeper of the Musée des Antiquités Nationals (1926-56). Professor at the School du Louvre (1927-52). He was also chief editor of the Revue Archéologique and editor-in-chief of the journal Préhistoire (Filip 1966/69: vol II, 676).

Laet, Sigfied Jande de (1914-1999). Flemish archaeologist trained in archaeology by van Giffen. Lecturer in Classics at the University of Ghent (1942). Ordinarius (professor) of Western European Archaeology (1951). He established the National Centre for Archaeological Research in Belgium in 1959. He was secretary of the CISPP from 1952 to 1966 (Laet 1989).

Lauer, Jean-Philippe (1902-2001). French Egyptologist and an expert on the pyramid of Saqqara.

Le Rouzic, Zacharie (d. 1940). French archaeologist from Carnac (Brittany). Self-taught, at a young age he became interested in archaeology and was made the curator of the Museum of Carnac. He wrote a guide to the monuments of Carnac and was a staunch supporter of Celticism, reviving old traditional rituals practised around the stones (V.C.C. Colum in Man 1940: 161-4).

Leeds, Edward Thurlow (1877-1955). He worked at the Ashmolean Museum as Assistant Keeper (1908-28) and then Keeper (1928-1945). He specialised in Anglo-Saxon archaeology and the archaeology of Oxfordshire (MacGregor 2007) (see Chapter 6).

Leisner, Georg (1870-1957) and his wife Vera Leisner (1885-1972) became specialists in megalithic Iberia. Married in 1909, they started a megalithic corpus with funding from the RGK and the Notgemeinschaft

der Deutschen Wissenschaft. They moved to Lisbon in 1943 and in 1954 went on to form part of the team of the German Archaeological Institute. Vera continued working on prehistoric Iberia after Georg's death.

Louis, Maurice (d. 1966). French archaeologist, vice-president of the International Institute of Ligurian Studies (1966, BSPF 63: cxxiii).

Maciñeira Pardo de Lama, Federico (1870-1943). Galician landowner who established himself as one of the main scholars of Galician archaeology. He published on megaliths and on the possible exploitation of Galician tin in prehistory. He was a founding member of the Royal Academy of Galicia (Armada in Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009a: 405-6).

Mahr, Adolf (1887-1951). Austrian archaeologist. Keeper of Antiquities at the National Museum of Ireland in Dublin from 1927 and from 1934 director of the museum. He became the leader of the Nazi party in Ireland and moved to Germany in 1939 (Mullins 2007; O'Donoghue 1998; Wallace 2004).

Mallon, Jean (1904-1982). French palaeographist. He worked on archives (1926) and was Keeper at the National Archives of France. He wrote a celebrated Paleographie romaine published in Madrid in 1952 (Scriptorium 37: 287-289, 1983).

Maluquer de Motes Nicolau, Joan [Maluquer de Motes Nicolau, Juan] (1915-1988). Assistant in the Archaeological Museum of Barcelona after the Civil War, Professor of Archaeology at the University of Salamanca. (1949-1959) and the University of Barcelona (1969-1985). Emeritus Professor at the latter university (1985-1988) (Gracia in Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009a: 410-411).

Mariën, Marc Edouard (1918-1991). Worked at the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire of Brussels (1943-1983), where he directed the third department of the museum that included national antiquities (1974-1983). Lecturer at the Flemish University of Vrije in Brussels (1970-1985).

Marquis of Lozoya (1893-1978) [Juan de Contreras y López de Ayala]. Art historian. General Director of Fine Arts (1939-51). Professor at the universities of Valencia (1923-46), Madrid (1946-60) and Navarra (1963-69). Director of the Academy of Fine Arts in Rome (1952). Director of the

Institute of Spain (1964). Vice-president of the Hispanic Society of America.

Martínez Santa-Olalla, Julio (1905-1972). Professor at the University of Santiago de Compostela (1936). Acting Professor in the Chair of Primitive History of Man at the University of Madrid (1939-?1945). Director of the Archaeological Institute of the Madrid City Council (1953-1972), subsequently a professor in Zaragoza (1947-1957) and then in Valencia (1957-69). He returned to Madrid as a professor in 1969 (Quero in Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009a: 423-4).

Mélida y Alinari, José Ramón (1856-1933). Assistant Keeper at the National Archaeological Museum of Madrid (1876-1901) and then its director (1916-30), after a spell directing the Museum of Casts (1901-1916). Professor of Archaeology at the University of Madrid (1911-27). He excavated Numantia and Merida (Díaz-Andreu in Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009a: 431-3).

Morgan, Jean-Jacques de (1857-1924). French mining and oil engineer. Director of Antiquities in Egypt. He became interested in the archaeology of the areas of the world where his job took him, including the Middle East. He identified the North African Capsian in 1907.

Muñoz Amilibia, Ana María (1931-). Assistant Professor at the University of Barcelona (1965). Professor of Archaeology at the University of Murcia (1975-1990) and at the UNED (Open University) based in Madrid (1990).

Myres, John Linton (1869-1954). Professor of Greek and a lecturer in ancient geography at the University of Liverpool (1907-10). Wykeham Professor of Ancient History at the University of Oxford (1910-1939) (see Chapter 6).

Nash-Williams, Victor E. (1897-1955). Welsh Roman archaeologist. He worked for the National Museum of Wales as an Assistant Keeper (1924) and Keeper (1926-1955). Lecturer in archaeology at University College, Cardiff (1926). Member of the Ancient Monuments Board for Wales in 1954, and a commissioner of the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments (Wales) in 1955.

Obermaier, Hugo (1877-1946). German prehistorian, specialised in the Palaeolithic. Lecturer at the University of Vienna (1909-11). Chair of

Quaternary Geology at the Parisian Institute de Paléontologie Humaine (1911-14). During World War I he remained in Spain and worked for the JAE (1915-22). Professor of the Primitive History of Man at the University of Madrid (1922). Voluntarily exiled, he spent his last years as a lecturer in Freiburg (Switzerland) (Arias in Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009a: 490-2).

Palol Salellas, Pedro de (1923-2005). Lecturer at the University of Barcelona (1945-1956). Professor of Archaeology at the University of Valladolid (1956-1970), and of Barcelona (1970-1988). Emeritus Professor at the same university (1988-1995) (Gracia in Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009a: 504-5).

Pallotino, Massimo (1909-1995). Associate Professor of Etruscology and Ancient Italy at the University of Rome, Professor in Calgary (1940) and Rome (1945) (Filip 1966/69: 994)

Párducz, Mihály (1908-1974) Professor at the University of Szeged (Hungary) (Filip 1966/69).

Pérez de Barradas y Alvarez de Eulate, José (1897-1981). Palaeolithist, anthropologist and Americanist. He worked for the heritage office of the Madrid City Council (1924-1936). Director of the Museum of the Spanish People (Museo del Pueblo Español) (1939-1945) and the National Museum of Ethnology (1940-1952). Professor of Anthropology in the Faculty of Sciences at the University of Madrid (1941-1970). Director of the Anthropology Department of the CSIC (1941-1965) (Martín and Carreras in Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009: 517-9).

Pericot Raurich, María Luisa (Pericot i Raurich, M.Lluïsa) (1931-1989). Lectured at the University of Navarra in the early 1960s. Lecturer at the University of Barcelona (1968-1989) (Anonymous 1993).

Piggott, Stuart Ernest (1910-1996) (Filip 1966/69: 994). Assistant at Reading Museum (1927), he joined the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales (1928). In the 1930s he worked for Alexander Keiller. Studied for a diploma at the Institute of Archaeology (1936). Posted to India during WWII. Abercromby Professor in Archaeology at Edinburgh University (1946-1977).

Porcar Ripollés, Juan Bautista (1889-1974). Painter, amateur archaeologist and Provincial Commissar of Archaeological Excavations for Castellon (1941- 1960). He documented and published many sites with Levantine rock art paintings in the area of Ares del Maestre and undertook a series of important surveys and excavations from the 1920s (Arasa in Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009: 526).

Radford, Arthur Ralegh (1900-1998). Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Wales and Monmouthshire (1929). He also served in this institution at a later date (1935-1946), and become its secretary in 1946-48. Director of the British School at Rome (1936-39) (Oxford DNB 2004-).

Ripoll Perelló, Eduardo [Ripoll i Perelló, Eduard] (1923-2006). Assistant Keeper (1947-1953), Keeper and subsequently Director of the Archaeological Museum in Barcelona and of the Museum of Ampurias (1963). Lecturer in prehistory at the Autonomous University of Barcelona where he was vice-dean (1968-1981). Chair of Prehistory at the Open University (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia) and Director of the National Archaeological Museum (1981-1986) (Corbeto in Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009: 563-4).

Rivet, Paul (1876-1958). Director of the Institute of Ethnology in Paris (1928). Director of the Musée de l'Homme in Paris (1937). and a key supporter of the French Society of Americanists (Pericot 1958c).

Rolland, Henri (1886-1970). French architect, from 1941 Delégué aux Antiquités of the Basses-Alpes, de Saint Rémy and Saint Blais (Gran-Aymerich 2001: 593).

Romanelli, Pietro (1889-1981). Specialist in Imperial Roman Africa. Member of the Italian School of Archaeology at Athens. From 1919 he focused his attention on Libya. In 1925 he became the Director of the Museum of Tarquinia and was Professor of the Archaeology of Roman Africa at the University of Rome (1925-1960) (Gran-Aymerich 2001: 594).

Ruhlmann, Armand (1896-1948). French archaeologist. Inspector of Moroccan Antiquities. He died in an accident during the excavations of a rock shelter to the south of El-Aïoun (BSPF 45 (1948): 132; (Pericot 1951a).

Saint-Mathurin, Suzanne Cassou de (1900-1990). Trained in archaeology by Breuil, she collaborated with the Museum of Bordeaux reclassifying some Palaeolithic collections. Together with Dorothy Garrod they excavated the Roc-aux-Sorciers.

Savory, Hubert Newman (1911-2001). Randall-MacIver fellow at Queen's College Oxford, where he undertook research on the archaeology of the Iberian Peninsula (1936-38). Assistant Keeper (1939) and Keeper (1955) at the National Museum of Wales in Cardiff, where he was the head of archaeology for many years (1955-1976) (Brewer 2001; Lewis 2000).

San Valero Aparisi, Julián (1913-1997). Professor of the History of Culture at the University of Granada (1948-50). Professor of Prehistory, Ancient and Mediaeval History at the University of Valencia (1950-1983).

Schulten, Adolf (1870-1960) Assistant Lecturer at the University of Göttingen (1896-1907) and of Erlangen (1907), where he obtained a Chair in 1909 (Díaz-Andreu in Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009a: 601-3; Wulff Alonso 2004).

Serra Rafols, Elías (1898- 1972).Chair of History of Spain at the University of La Laguna (1926-1968). Although his main field of research was the mediaeval and early modern journeys to the Canary Islands, he often collaborated with the major players of Canarian archaeology, Luis Diego Cuscoy and Sebastián Jiménez Sánchez (Ramírez Sánchez in Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009: 617-8).

Sieveking, Gale (1925-2007). British prehistorian. Deputy Director of Museums in Malaya (1953-56). Deputy Keeper (1956-1985) at the British Museum. Among his many projects was the excavation of the Grimes Graves Neolithic mines. He also excavated in Thailand (Society ... no year).

Smith, Margaret – see Brown, Margaret.

Taracena Aguirre, Blas (1895-1951). Director of the Museum of Numantia in Soria (1915-1936), of the Museum of Cordoba (1936-39), and of the Nacional Archaeological Museum (1939-1951) (Gómez Pantoja in Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009: 659-660).

Tarradell Mateu, Miguel [Tarradell i Mateu, Miquel] (1920-1995). Assistant Keeper at the Archaeological Museum of Barcelona (1942-46). Director of the Provincial Department for Archaeology of Granada (1946-47) and of the Department of Excavations of the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco (1948-56). Professor of Archaeology at the universities of Valencia (1956-1970) and Barcelona (1970-1988). Emeritus Professor of the latter university (1988-1994) (Gracia in Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009: 661-2).

Tompa, Ferenc (1893-1945). Also known as Franz von Tompa (Comas 1956). Hungarian prehistorian specialising in the Neolithic and Bronze Age. Director of the Szombathely Museum (1920-23). Keeper of the Prehistoric Collection at the Hungarian National Museum of Budapest and professor at the University of Budapest (1938-45). He was killed by a bomb (BOD – Myres - Box 65 Doc 36, letter from Childe to Myres dated 9-2-1946) (Filip 1966/69: vol II, 1472).

Topp, Celia (1915- 1992). Born Cecily Hamson. Graduated from the Institute of Archaeology (1952). She moved to Gibraltar in 1956 and to Ibiza in the 1960s. She collaborated in the excavations of Gorham's Cave and Los Millares and undertook some projects in Ibiza in the last years of her life (Gómez-Bellard 1992).

Trías Rubíes, Gloria. Temporary Lecturer at the University of Granada (1964-1979) and collaborator of the William L. Bryant Foundation. She published the wellknown Greek Pottery in the Iberian Peninsula (Trias de Arribas 1967-68), Orfila in Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009: 670).

Unverzagt, Wilhelm (1892-1971). Director of the Berlin Museum of Pre- and Protohistory (1926-1945). After World War II, Director of the Institute for Pre and Protohistory at the German Academy of Sciences of the GDR. He edited several key prehistoric archaeology journals in Germany, including Prähistorischen Zeitschrift (1927) and Zeitschrift Ausgrabungen und Funde (1956) (Filip 1966/69: vol II, 1552).

Van Giffen, Albert (1884-1973). Dutch archaeologist. Keeper at the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden (1912). Founder of the Biological- Archaeological Institute at Groningen University (1920) and of the Institute of Pre-and Protohistory at Amsterdam University (1950). He revolutionised excavation techniques in Holland (Walterbolk in Murray 2001: 1313).

Van Riet Lowe, Clarence (1894-1956). South African civil engineer. Director of the newly created Bureau of Archaeology in 1935 (known as the Archaeological Survey from 1944). Professor of Archaeology at the University of the Witwatersrand (Malan 1956).

Vaufrey, Raymond (1890-1967). Professor at the Parisian Institute of Human Palaeontology and for thirty six years the co-editor of L'Anthropologie. A member of the Commission de Monuments Historiques and the director of Prehistoric Antiquities of the First Circonscription (1942-64) (Bordes 1968). For his role before World War II see Schnapp (1980).

Vogt, Emil (1906-1974). Keeper at the Schweizerisches Landesmuseum (Swiss National Museum) (Zürich) (1930). Extraordinarius (part-time professor) at the University of Zürich (1945) (Filip, 1966/69: vol. 2, 1599).

Wace, Alan John Bayard (1879-1957). Director of the British School at Athens (1914-23). Professor of Classical Archaeology at Cambridge (1934- 44) and at the Farouk I University in Egypt (1943-52). He worked in Sparta, Mycenae, Troy, Thessaly, Corinth, and Alexandria, and on the decipherment of Linear B tablets (Gill in Oxford DNB 2004-).

Walker, Michael J. (1941-). British archaeologist. Lecturer at the universities of Edinburgh (1969-1973), Sydney (1973-1988) and Murcia (1988-). Specialist in Palaeoanthropology and Neanderthals.

Ward, Lauriston (1882-1960). Curator of Asiatic archaeology at Harvard (1937-1960). He served as president and founder of the Council for World Archaeology (1953-1960) and was chairman of the American School of Prehistoric Research (1954-1960).

Zeuner, Frederick E. (1905-1963). German archaeologist . Lecturer in geology and palaeontology at Breslau and Freiburg-im-Breisgau until 1934, Exiled in England (1934). Honorary Lecturer in Geochronology at the London University Institute of Archaeology (Clark 1989: 14). Chair in Environmental Archaeology at the Institute of Archaeology (1946 -1963) (Harris 2009; Simpson 2000-01) (see Chapter 4).

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Anonymous 1993. [Obituary] Mª Lluïsa Pericot i Raurich. *Pyrenae* 24: 13.

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